CAPTIVE AUDIENCE: *URBAN REMOVAL: GENESIS OF THE GHETTO* (SEE PAGE 6)

COMMEMORATOR

Published by the Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party

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CCBPP's Melvin Dickson Receives Fannie Lou Hamer Award

Courtesy of UCB African-American Studies Dept.

Melvin Dickson, CCBPP chairman, thanks graduating African-American Studies students for selecting him for the Fanny Lou Hamer Award.

Courtesy of UCB African-American Studies Dept.

Graduates of U.C. Berkeley's doctoral program in African-American Studies at May 18 commencement ceremony.

On May 18, Melvin Dickson, Founder and Chairman of the Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party, was honored at the African-American Studies Department commencement ceremony for the University of California, Berkeley Class of 2002, with a Fannie Lou Hamer Award, named for the famed Civil Rights leader. The recipients of the award are nominated and chosen by vote of graduating students.

On this pleasant and sunny day, some 2000 family and friends of the graduates gathered at U.C. Berkeley's Greek Theater to celebrate the Department of African-American Studies' Commencement, where 180 students received degrees and Bay Area activists received honors.

The overflow crowd quickly swelled the theater with people of all ages, ethnic makeup and walks of life, while program organizers directed people to outdoor seating. Soul music was piped in, energizing the students and audience.

The program began with graduating students, staff and audience joining together in singing "Lift Every Voice and Sing," widely known as the "Black National Anthem."

Before the degrees were presented to the graduates, plaques were awarded to guests on the dais whom graduating students had selected for recognition and honors. Melvin Dickson, Founder and Chairman of the Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party, received one of two annual Fannie Lou Hamer Awards. Dickson and co-honoree Margaret Norris, Academy Director at the San Francisco Omega Boys Club, were given inscribed plaques. Nationally acclaimed poet and writer June Jordan, at the time a visiting lecturer at U.C. Berkeley, was presented with a Citation Award plaque by Vice Chancellor Dr. Horace Mitchell. (Jordan, who received her award in a wheelchair, died of cancer a few

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Ruchell 'Cinque' Magee Fights for Freedom

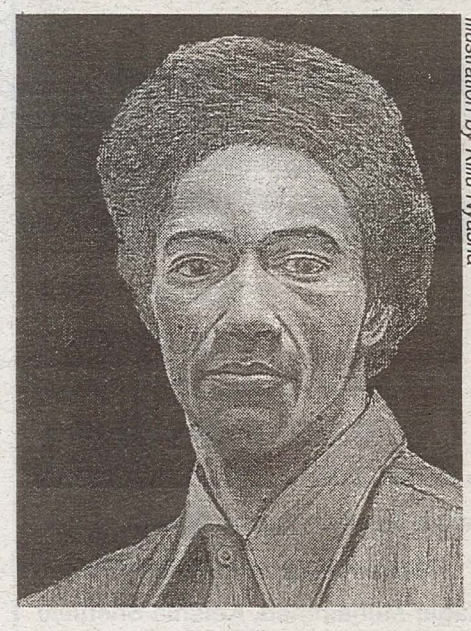

Illustration by Kiilu Nyasha

By Michael Wickliffe, CCBPP Staff

The *Commemorator* has been following the case of Ruchell "Cinque" Magee for over seven years. (See most recently *The Commemorator* December 2001 issue, "Ruchell Magee Update," "Affidavit of Bernard J. Suares," and "Black August 2001 Statement") Magee is currently enduring his 40th year of imprisonment at a maximum-security facility in Corcoran, California. Magee is widely considered to be the longest-held political prisoner in the United States.

Magee first came into contact with California prison systems in 1963. He was convicted of kidnap and robbery after an uninjurious scuffle with a man and woman over a ten-dollar bag of marijuana. Prosecutors zealously decided to throw the book at Magee, and won an undoubtedly excessive sentence of seven years to life. Many believe that the sentence was loaded due to Magee's activism in the Civil Rights movement during that time.

While imprisoned, Magee fought against his conviction, filing writ after writ, all the while becoming schooled in what he himself calls, "Guerilla Law." With this growing knowledge, Magee was also able to help other inmates maneuver through the legal terrain of their own cases and effectively exercise their legal rights from behind bars.

A sentence of seven years to life for a crime that doesn't result in serious injury is one that usually never sees the longer end of its term. In fact, in 1976 the U.S. Justice Department established a matrix of sentencing guidelines that affirmed the routine reduction of time to be served. The courts, however, ignored Magee's objection to the time he was gradually accumulating, a continuation of the deaf ears they had turned toward his case. The escalation of Black revolutionary activism during the 1960's and the fact that Magee was helping fellow inmates defend themselves likely worsened his chance to get a fair and impartial review of his case.

Magee's already ruthless imprisonment took a turn for the worse when, in the summer of 1970, he was called as a witness in the case of James McClain. McClain was being tried for allegedly assaulting a Corcoran prison guard. The incident in question followed the murder of prisoner Fred Billingsley by prison security. Jonathan Jackson, brother of "Soledad Brother" George Jackson, walked into the court proceeding and tossed weapons to McClain, Magee (who says he had no foreknowledge of the plan) and William Christmas, another witness. Jackson directed the ensuing "August 7 Rebellion" in which the four armed rebels took the judge, the D.A., and three jurors hostage. It was Jackson's intention to use the hostages as a pass

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Editorial

Our Nation is Under Attack:

Which side are you on?

International Action Center

Demonstrators nationwide protested the inauguration of George W. Bush on January 20, 2001 to demand justice in wake of election coup.

By Melvin Dickson, Editor

At the hands of a corrupt, decadent corporate culture where insider trading and naked theft and extortion have taken the place of even earlier, more primitive forms of exploitation, Americans are suffering a financial disaster that most of us have not seen in our lifetimes. While paying only the most glib lip service to its so-called "efforts" to punish corporate criminals who continue to live in great luxury, while their former employees, vendors and investors have seen their lives destroyed by these corporate criminal acts, the Bush Administration is using its full power to decimate any opposition to the ability of monopoly capitalism to rob and pillage at even greater speed.

Jobs are being cut in numbers not seen in this country since the 1930's, millions of poor and minority people are being jailed, beaten and murdered at the hands of the police state while even the last, desperate fallback of welfare has been transformed into a slave labor program and workers – organized and unorganized alike – have been attacked in order to open the doors to even greater levels of destruction of our people.

In the last two decades, the population of African-American male inmates grew three times as fast as the number of African-American men enrolled in higher education, according to the Justice Policy Institute of Washington, DC. A record 6.6 million Americans, or one out of 32 adults in the United States, are presently under the jurisdiction of the correctional system – either incarcerated in federal or state prisons, in local jails, or on parole or probation. California alone incarcerates more people than does France, Britain, Japan, Germany, Singapore and the Netherlands combined.

Meanwhile, the Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party (CCBPP) works overtime to facilitate a Revolutionary Intercommunal program, promoting political education and literacy in working class and minority communities, demanding living wage jobs, comprehensive health care, decent housing and education for everyone.

The theory of the BPP Ten-Point Program calls for removing the distance between *All Power To The People* and the poverty that afflicts those of us who own no interest in perpetuating the status quo.

Working class and minority communities are facing political and economic attack from fascist forces at every point, from the 2000 presidential election ripping off black voters in the state of Florida to the ripping off of workers by Enron, WorldCom and other multinational corporations.

Monopoly capitalism is standing naked to the world: a string of capitalist corporations that operate by cooking their record books and falsifying their accounting records. It goes like this:

They hire inside accountants and attorneys who have no problem withholding information from the Securities and Exchange Commission, whose Chairman is appointed by a White House whose President knows which side HE is on.

In the South we called them the Good Old Boys, and we can still call them the Good Old Boys now. They learned to stop using the "N-word" and to bring a couple of dark-skinned people like Uncle Tom Clarence Thomas onto the payroll, but it is still the same old game.

Their boys in the media, Wall Street PR firms and the corporate media, convince new masses of stockholders from largely upper-income working people (counting professionals and small proprietors) to invest their retirement funds and savings in the stock market or, quite often, coerce them through 401(k) plans to invest their retirement directly into the company for which they work.

That is in a nutshell what happens with workers such as the former employees of Enron and WorldCom. These upper-income workers, as most Americans, hope to become "comfortably rich." With this heavy infusion of capital into the stock market the pressure and competition must keep investment flowing into corporate portfolios to purposely keep stock values high, and to attract new investors at all cost, including deception, in order to guarantee maximized profits.

But then, after a brief "bull" market, where stock sales are up and trading is rolling, those with the *real* power pull their money out, leaving the suckers holding the bag.

It's a con game. Poor people get busted every day in cities across this country for hustling 3-card Monte on the street corner for a few bucks to buy groceries. Yet corporate executives of companies like Enron, WorldCom, Adelphia, Global Crossing and dozens of others made off with more than 38 BILLION dollars of assets (stolen from working people) according to a recent story in *Fortune* magazine.

This brought the chickens home to roost: Since Enron's dissolution, we continue to witness scandal after scandal on Wall Street, and yet they are por-

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"SERVING ALL OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES"

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Opinion-Editorial

The Folly of Calling the FBI

Editor's Note: Although the following article by Mumia Abu-Jamal, The Folly of Calling the FBI, *was written three years ago, it has perhaps even greater significance in light of the current administration's new Homeland Security strategy, inspired since September 11th, to allow the government to locate and eliminate any "terrorist threat" by consolidating 22 government agencies including: all the intelligence services, the Federal Emergency Management Agency, the Coast Guard, the I.N.S., the Customs Service, the Treasury Department, the public health service and many other departments of the executive branch of the government under a single administrated agency. This is coupled with the newest version of COINTELPRO, the Terrorist Information and Prevention System (TIPS) that would force working people to become spies for the government against their brothers and sisters.*

But so-called black leadership continue to call in the FBI to investigate racially-motivated crime against Blacks on the part of local police, not acknowledging that they were only doing their job of protecting the interest of those with economic and political power, who got there and stay there through racialist practices like profiling. The Federal agencies, also serving that same interest, will do nothing to protect our low-income and minority communities from these depravations.

There is an alternative to calling in the FBI: the establishment of ad hoc fact-finding committees from our affected communities, together with others with no government connections, whose veracity and sincerity has been demonstrated through their efforts over past decades on behalf of these same poor and working people. Such a committee would be free of the restraints imposed when conflicts of interests arise in an investigation, and would, therefore, be free to serve the true interest of the people.

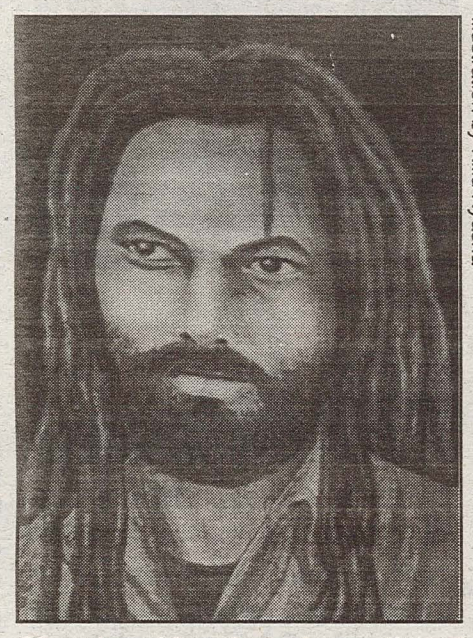

Illustration by Kiilu Nyasha

Mumia Abu-Jamal, political prisoner and award-winning journalist.

By Mumia Abu-Jamal

"When are you Black folks gonna throw off the KILLERS that are JAILIN' you for murder?"

John Africa, On the MOVE!
(July 26, 1975)

When Black folks are beaten down by cops all around the United States, and when they are shot down in their cars as in the case of Dontae Dawson of Philadelphia, or Malice Green of Detroit, or the beautiful young sister (Taisha Miller) who was shot over 15 times in her car in Riverside, California recently, or...(We can go on and on) one of the first things that many Black leaders do, is announce that they are asking for the FBI to come in to "solve" the case. What such an announcement means, of course, is that they fully recognize that local police are in no position to meaningfully investigate such cases, as their interests are in protecting "their own." But why the FBI?

Such a call sounds strange when one considers that the FBI played a significant and an openly dangerous role in the history of African-American struggles for freedom in America, and they were deadly enemies of such leaders as Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, Marcus M. Garvey, and of such groups as the Black Panther Party, RAM, SNCC, the Republic of New Afrika, and the like. In truth, the history of the FBI shows that they have waged a secret war against Black America, and frankly, it seems kind of stupid to look to them for relief from other state forces that are waging a part of their long white supremacist war against Black folks.

James Forman, the former head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, after being beaten by white supremacists

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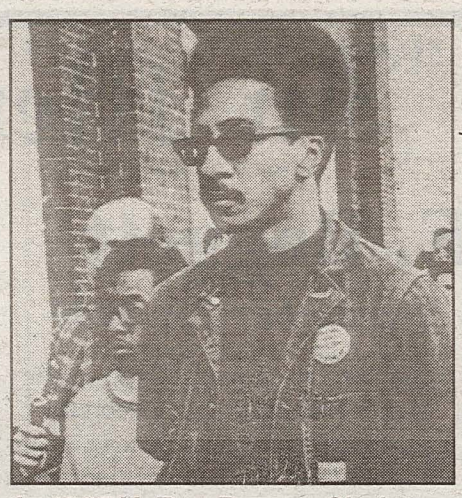

CCBPP file photo

In 1967 H. Rap Brown, Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and Black Panther Party Minister of Justice became a target of US government violence, after stating that "Violence is American as cherry pie."

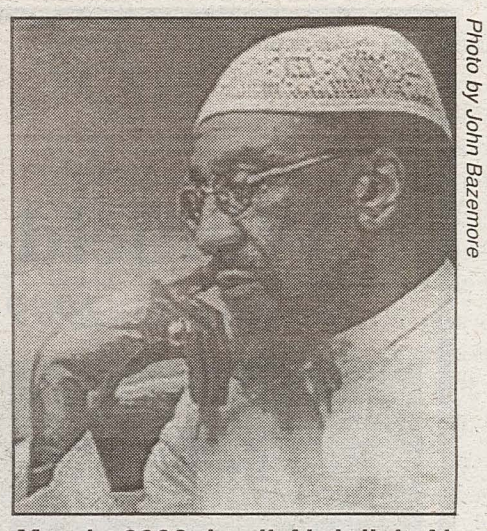

Photo by John Bazemore

March, 2002 Jamil Abdullah Al-Amin (H. Rap Brown), after converting to Islam is convicted on frame-up charges by an Atlanta, Georgia, African American judge for the murder of a black police officer.

Jamil Abdullah Al-Amin (H. Rap Brown) Framed

Sentenced to Life in Prison Without Possibility of Parole

By Michael Wickliffe

Jamil Abdullah Al-Amin, known to most people as H. Rap Brown, was convicted on March 9 for the fatal shooting of Atlanta Deputy Sheriff Ricky Kinchen and wounding of Deputy Aldranon English. The allegations and trial have been criticized and protested from the outset, undoubtedly reminding many of the unjust COINTELPRO harassment and convictions of other former Black Panthers, such as Geronimo jiJaga Pratt and Mumia Abu-Jamal. Pratt and Abu-Jamal were both convicted with key testimony coming from witnesses (Julio Butler and Cynthia White, respectively) later exposed to be working directly for law enforcement agencies.[1] Jack Martin, one of Al-Amin's defense lawyers, realized that his task was burdened from the beginning: "The most important mistake in this case was made within minutes of the shooting: they assumed he was guilty and closed the case."

One of the most glaring inconsistencies leading to Al-Amin's conviction was the account of the March 16, 2000 incident by Deputy English who, along with Kinchen, meant to apprehend Al-Amin with an arrest warrant at the Atlanta Community Mosque at which he served as an Imam (leader of a local Muslim community). The warrant was issued after Al-Amin failed to attend a court meeting for minor motoring charges and impersonating a police officer.[2] In police reports, English claimed that in the gunfight — that somehow erupted near Al-Amin's community store — he was able to shoot his assailant in the abdomen. When Al-Amin was arrested four days later, it was clear that he was in no way injured.

The problems didn't stop there. After the skirmish, which left Kinchen dead and English injured, the hunt began immediately for Al-Amin, despite evidence that someone else was directly involved. Helen Lane, an Atlanta 911 operator, later testified that she received an emergency call about 90 minutes after the time of the gunfight from someone who claimed that a wounded man was begging for a ride several blocks from the mosque. Operators received two additional 911 calls, both regarding the same incident. Superior Court Judge Stephanie Manis later disallowed the introduction of the calls as evidence, ruling that they were hearsay.

George Wilson, a heavy equipment operator who regularly attended the West End (a section of Atlanta) Mosque, also provided information that suggested another perpetrator. He testified during the trial that a man he knew as "Mustapha" was carrying a gun at the daily prayer service, which ended about an hour before the gunfight. Prosecutors countered with the fact that Wilson didn't immediately report this information. They then

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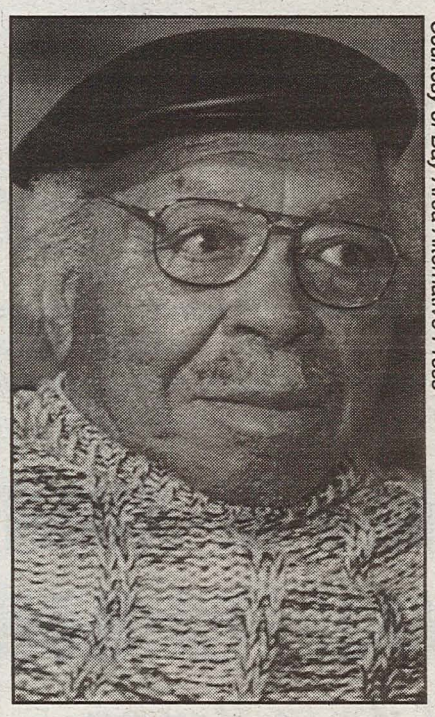
In Memoriam:

Winfield E. Baggett

January 31, 1909 - September 25, 2001



Courtesy of Bay Area Alternative Press

Winfield Baggett, labor organizer and revolutionary fought the good fight to the end.

To generations of people in the San Francisco Bay Area's low-income, and mostly minority communities, Winfield E. Baggett was known for leading struggles against exploitation, racial discrimination and the divide and conquer tactics of those whom he saw benefiting from the poverty and lack of unity amongst the poor and the working class. Among his friends and comrades, he was mostly referred to with the greatest respect and affection as "Mr. Baggett."

A revolutionary and labor leader, civil rights activist, president of the Bay Area Workers Benefit Council, Mr. Baggett passed away September 25, 2001 at Summit Medical Center in Oakland, California from renal failure. He was 92 years old. Mr. Baggett was a longtime participant with the Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party (CCBPP) and was particularly known as the lead organizer and consultant to its annual Black History Labor College. Mr. Baggett was also a labor historian, a plumber, a preacher, a welder, a small business owner and champion cow milker.

In his mid-eighties, when his health declined to the point where he could no longer do more demanding activities, Mr. Baggett maintained his position as President of the Bay Area Workers Benefit Council, and requested to take on the receptionist position at the office in Berkeley, California that houses alternative press organizations. How sorely we miss the sound of his powerful voice over the intercom announcing incoming calls. There he became involved with the Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party, providing wisdom and history to new generations of revolutionary leaders and potential leaders, and helped establish an annual Black History Month celebration every February

Mr. Baggett was renowned for his beautiful baritone singing voice which he loved to use to tell the story of labor and working people and struggles for civil rights through song. His detailed explanations of black freedom struggles and labor history are sorely missed by CCBPP staff and volunteers who learned tremendously through his stalwart example to fight on to the end on behalf of poor and oppressed people everywhere.

Born in Silver Creek, Mississippi on January 31, 1909 to Cap Winfield and Mattie McLean, Winfield Baggett was primarily raised in Louisiana and Arkansas. He never forgot his experiences and those of others he grew up with there. He often told the stories of "some of the things that I remember when I was small…things I came up through…that stay with me." Some of those stories follow as a fitting tribute to the story of his life for those of us who continue the struggle in his memory.

Mr. Baggett would tell the story of the "Elaine Riots" in Elaine, Arkansas that took place in 1919 when he was ten. Sharecroppers would pick the cotton and turn it over to the plantation owner, who would sell it. The sharecroppers themselves were given only the seeds to sell, which they could sell for $10-12 a ton and which was their primary source of income for the year. When the planters decided they were going to take 50% of the money from the sale of the seeds, the sharecroppers, who were members of a secret Masonic lodge, decided they would not pick the cotton if they could not keep all the money from the sale of seeds. Leaving the Masonic meeting where this decision was made and where all participants were sworn to secrecy, one of the sharecroppers was confronted by his boss, who demanded to know what occurred at the meeting. At first the man refused to talk, but when tortured, he divulged the plan.

The boss showed up at the next meeting, announcing that he knew their plans. He disrupted the meeting, tearing the place apart. The other Masons learned of the one sharecropper's breaking of the secrecy oath and they killed him. This led to a race war that spread from Louisiana to Texas, Alabama and Tennessee. Mr. Baggett never forgot his mother talking about how black women who would go to wash their clothes were shot by white men with Winchesters when they went to hang the clothes up to dry. Mr. Baggett said "this came to an end only after some people from New York petitioned the government and got them to send in state troopers."

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Tiffany Hall

May 5, 1970 - May 24, 2002

Courtesy of Bobbie Hall

Tiffany's mother, Bobbie Jo Hall, attended her graduation from at San Francisco State University, where Tiffany received a BA in chemistry.

On May 24, Tiffany Hall, Board of Directors member of Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party (CCBPP), past CCBPP Volunteers Coordinator, writer and circulation staff for *The Commemorator* and organizer of CCBPP events, died at home from complications after a "simple" liposuction surgery at California Pacific Medical Center's Davies Hospital in San Francisco. She was only 32 years old.

"Tiffany was a wonderful human being. Her death is a tremendous tragedy and loss to her family, friends and the community. Our heart goes out especially to her mother, Bobbie, with whom Tiffany lived during her college years when Tiffany was most active with CCBPP, and who continues to be a friend to our cause. Tiffany Hall was a hard-working, committed person who devoted her volunteer time to CCBPP for five years in the '90s, and also worked with other efforts including associations of farm workers and the working poor of California, seeking to aid them in their struggles for justice," said Melvin Dickson, Chairman of the Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party.

Born May 5, 1970 in Toledo, Ohio, Tiffany moved with her mother, Bobbie Jo Hall, to the San Francisco Bay Area in 1982. She chose to stay in the Bay Area for her high school and university education, where she studied chemistry. Starting in 1993, while in college, Tiffany was a regular volunteer with the Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party. As she avidly pursued and gained knowledge of the BPP history and goals, and how to build a voice for the oppressed based on the foundation of earlier attempts, she passed that knowledge and skill on to other volunteers. Tiffany demonstrated enthusiasm and diligence while participating in efforts in the low-income community on issues that affect poor, minority and working class peoples.

In 1994, Tiffany spoke out at both the California Legislature in Sacramento and at an Oakland City Council meeting against government-run slave-labor programs such as enterprise zones and workfare, where public tax dollars are used to subsidize large-scale national and international corporations at the expense of the poor.

"We oppose enterprise zones," Tiffany had stated, "because they are adding to the destruction of low-income and minority communities. Remember, the Black Panther Party got started when generations of African Americans were hit by the economic decline that destroyed the union jobs that brought their parents to California in the first place. Enterprise zones are breaking the last remnant of the unionized jobs that made it worthwhile for our grandparents and great grandparents to come out here."

Tiffany participated in two CCBPP Northwest Speaking Tours that included engagements at

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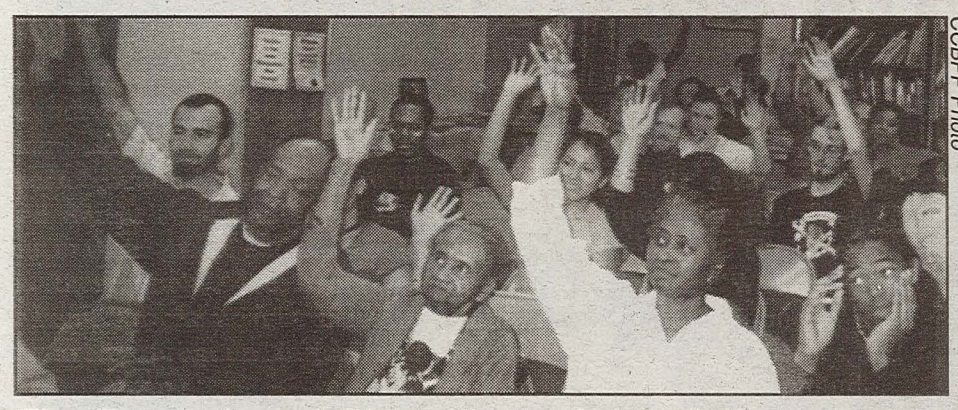
CCBPP Photo

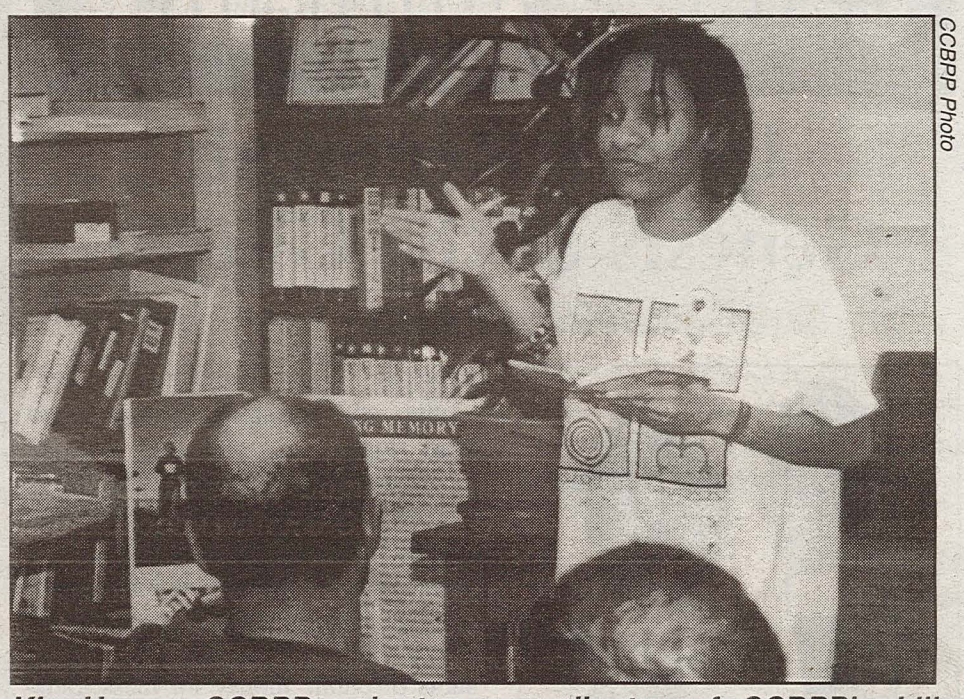
In 1995, while working on an article for* The Commemorator *regarding the conditions of California female inmates who are warehoused as slave labor, Tiffany Hall interviewed civil rights attorney Catherine Campbell (right) in Oakland, California.

Fourth Annual Black History Labor College



CCBPP Photo

The Fourth Annual Black History Labor College speakers engendered active audience participation.



CCBPP Photo

Kia Hayes, CCBPP volunteer coordinator of CCBPP's Li'l Bobby Hutton Literacy Campaign speaks to importance of literacy as a tool in the fight for political power.

CCBPP Photo

Together Everyone Achieves More (T.E.A.M.) members perform a Capoeira dance at the Fourth Annual Black History Labor College.

CCBPP Photo

Kiilu Nyasha, keynote speaker, writer and former Black Panther Party member gives an update on political prisoners in the United States.

CCBPP Photo

"Black history is labor history," explained Marlene Krohn, CCBPP Advisory Board member.

CCBPP Photo

Ora Knowwell, CCBPP volunteer, community activist, parent, poet, artist and teacher read poetry at the event.

"Black history is labor history," was the prevailing theme as introduced by Marlene Krohn, master of ceremonies of the Fourth Annual Black History Celebration on February 24, held at *The Commemorator* publication office in Berkeley.

Ora Knowwell was one of the first speakers for the day. A community organizer for the past 15 years, Knowwell stated, "Blacks have forgotten what their ancestors did for them, and so they are reluctant to fight to better themselves. We don't want our kids to go through what we went through." Knowwell then read a poem she had written:

Our nation is built on our labor. We did it all and we found our dignity from our labor.

Hope came over the horizon with the War. Many of us moved away from the darkness of captivity and into love and learning.

The family was at the center of it all. We did every kind of work. We were a serious people.

Children were showing everyone what a free people could do. Women went forward.

We knew what being strong was all about.

We were believers — fired by hard times.

The next speaker was Kia Hayes, CCBPP coordinator of the Li'l Bobby Hutton Literacy Campaign and a graduate student at San Francisco State University. She spoke about the urgency of building the literacy campaign. "Literacy is liberation!" she repeated several times. She told us how she was a descendent of an African who was not allowed to learn how to read or write. Hayes hails from Philadelphia where 57 percent of children are reading and writing well below their grade level. "Seventy percent of the children in Philadelphia's public school system live below the poverty line. In Oakland, 85,000 English speaking adults are functionally illiterate." She went on to give more statistics. "The United States ranks last in literacy among industrialized nations, but first in military spending. Eighty percent of the youth in the U.S. court system cannot read their rights for themselves."

She gave a brief biography of Li'l Bobby Hutton and explained how he joined the BPP at the age of 15. She cited that one of the ways he learned to read was from the BPP's Ten-Point Program. Hayes then read Point Five of the Ten-Point Program, which stresses the importance of education as a tool for liberation. She also shared things she had learned from doing interviews with students in the Oakland Public Schools. "In the Oakland public school system many students do not have access to computers and lack textbooks. In our Li'l Bobby Hutton Literacy Program we teach the true history of the Black Panther Party (survival programs). We need people for on-the-job training."

Discussing Ericka Huggins (former BPP leader who headed the Oakland Community School), Hayes said, "No one knows much about her. She is the author of many relatively unknown poems; here is one from August 1972 entitled 'In Oakland':

We worry about drugs, dope, our men dying in far off wars.

We are tired of struggling for what should rightfully be ours.

The next speaker Gina Hill, founder of an international youth dance troupe, spoke about the World Conference Against Racism and Xenophobia, held in Durban, South Africa August 30 – September 4, 2001. She noted that 77 nations were represented there by high-level delegations, and President George W. Bush withdrew the U.S. delegation mid-way when the question of restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people was being pressed forward.

At this point, Gina led three other teen dancers in a Capoeira performance, a Brazilian martial art followed by a performance of Palo, a dance from Cuba.

Melvin Dickson, editor of *The Commemorator* and Chairman of CCBPP, spoke next. "Some tend to forget the factors within a society that influence us the most: money and labor," he said. "The capitalist media are co-opting our celebration of Black History Month because they have a stake in maintaining the status quo. The oppressed people worldwide should take a lesson from how Blacks were divided and controlled by the economic system, the media and government policies. That is why intercommunalism is the framework that we organize from, in solidarity with all oppressed communities fighting for progressive change."

Kiilu Nyasha, a former Panther, spoke about the conditions of political prisoners. "Hugo Pinell of the San Quentin Six spent 30 years in solitary confinement. He is now being held in the notorious Pelican Bay Prison. Twelve of these years were spent in the wing called 'The Shoe.' In August of 1970, Jonathan Jackson was trying to reach a radio station to broadcast the truth about awful prison conditions in which his brother George Jackson was passing his life. Among other current political prisoners there is Ruchell Magee, Marilyn Buck and Leonard Peltier. (Peltier) has spent 27 years in prison."

Kiilu added that, "The Patriot Act legalizes the FBI's program against radicals like us. We are living in very dangerous times. We must pay attention to our political prisoners. Some like (the late) George Jackson and Mumia Abu-Jamal used their long time in prison to bring their minds to a very high level. We must come together intellectually and free ourselves."

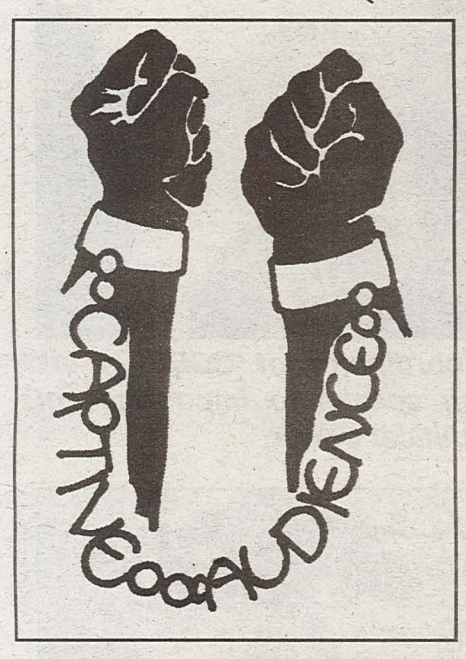
Dickson called for those in attendance to commit themselves to become professional volunteer organizers with CCBPP. Contact Dickson for more information about CCBPP's organizer training program.

All Power To The People

Captive Audience

Urban Removal: Genesis of the Ghetto

(Part One)



By John Donner

Pausing and wondering how the ghetto came to be and why it persists is inevitable for most who've come to grips with its reality. This is also true when it comes to urban renewal which is really urban removal of lower-income people, families, tenants, landlords, businesses, and community organizations. You've seen the reality of the wrecking ball burst onto the neighborhood scene after decades of planned decay and lower-income victims scurrying in its wake. Survey America's urban maps and you'll see a pattern of the continual encroachment on inner-city neighborhoods of downtown skylines complete with convention centers, condominiums, sports-entertainment megaplexes, and similar infrastructure.

The Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelieus Antoninus (161-180 CE) said "[l]ook to the essence of a thing," and "[l]ook beneath the surface; let not the several quality of a thing nor its worth escape thee." World revolutionary leader, member of the central committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik), and one of the patriot founders of the Soviet Union, V. I. Lenin, said: "to examine every question from the standpoint of how the given phenomenon arose in history and what are the principal stages in its development, and, from the standpoint of its development, to examine what it has become today." Of the ghetto we must ask what is its essence, how did it arise in history, what are the principal stages of its development, and what has it become today.

Modern industrial and post-industrial cities are undeniable products of evolving capitalism. The development of American (and global) industrial capitalism required an army of industrial workers to build the industrial plants, roads, railways, and assets which form the logistical infrastructure for industrial capitalism. It was thus necessary to have centralized working-class centers wherein capitalism's industrial army could house, feed, clothe, and transport themselves to work from.

These places became the urban ghettos of the central cities, of the metropolitan areas, associated with the major sites of capitalist industrial production. The government as agents for the capitalist class provided massive sums of public money for mass transportation to move capitalism's industrial army between work and the ghetto.

Industrial capitalism also needed finance capital, land, raw materials, and markets, but production factors were unable to grow because they were assigned to and being used by a contrary system of economic production based on the labor of slaves who were owned as property themselves. To acquire these resources without which it could no longer grow, industrial capitalism in America had to destroy the chattel-slave-labor production system.

The American system is chattel-slave-labor production made it impossible to minimize labor costs as a fundamental means of maximizing profit from the exploitation of labor. Hence the hallmark capitalist methods of replacing workers with machines and firing/laying off workers during capitalist cycles of panic-recession-depression could never work as part of an economic system based on the labor of slaves owned as property. Under such a system it is impossible to lay off or fire slaves without transforming them into nonproductive surplus labor whose upkeep you still have to pay for because they belong to you.

The Civil War was spurred by the fact that industrial capitalism needed the resources and markets that were tied up by slave-labor production. Equally important, industrial capitalism needed a labor production system that did not require it to pay the costs of sustaining labor that is not producing profit and would allow it to fire and lay off labor during capitalist bust cycles of panic-recession-depression.

The fact that the Civil War was motivated by these factors may be inferred from the fact that the outcome of the war itself converted to industrial capitalism the finance capital, land, raw materials, and markets American industrial capitalism needed to live, and established nationally the system of labor necessary for capitalist exploitation. Within 45 years of the end of the Civil War 13 million immigrants from Europe and Asia combined with rural Southern Blacks were being warehoused in American's urban slums.

The exodus into America's ghettos was accelerated at every turn by successive wars, the Civil War, and World Wars I and II. This fact makes the linkage between the expansion of the military-industrial complex (which includes the prison-industrial complex) and the ghetto indisputably clear. Immigrants, rural Blacks, and other migrants flocked to the urban ghettos in the aftermath of each of the aforesaid wars, in response to the growing labor needs of the military-industrial complex, and were absorbed into it as part of capitalism's industrial army.

BPP Archive

In 1971, BPP members and children demonstrated for community control of oppressed communities at BPP Liberation School in San Francisco.

Beginning in the mid to late 1960s, American industrial production began to rearrange itself on a national basis lured by government tax giveaways. Industrial production began to move away from the central cities of the greater metropolitan areas. In the 1980s, industrial production began to re-deploy itself on a global basis, seeking starvation-wage foreign labor markets, which multinational monopoly capitalism has connected to world consumer markets through a network of so-called free trade zones, all subsidized by a cornucopia of tax giveaways. Together this combination of factors constitute a new predominant mode of exploitative profit-taking within capitalism's industrial branch.

The re-deployment of industrial capitalism on a global basis, as described, has decimated the traditional domestic industrial bases that gave rise to American urban industrial centers. The central cities and their urban ghettos now contain (from capitalism's standpoint) a no longer needed massive industrial army (in post-industrial America). Capitalism is unwilling and, under the current setup, unable to underwrite financially this industrial army without a massive and permanent redistribution of economic wealth. The logical reason for American industrial cities no longer exists on the vast scale it once did, and, as a consequence

Continued on page 14

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Letter to the Editor

Dear *Commemorator,*

What if we decided to rewrite the U.S. Constitution?

This 1789 document, now 213 years old has been amended 27 times, is still racist and has yet to adequately address human rights, i.e., our human right to lead healthy lives. What if we began organizing a people's constitutional convention?

In fact, it's already been done. The Black Panther Party in coalition with numerous radical organizations of the Sixties devoted two years to the organizing of The Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention of 1970 in Philadelphia, where then chief of police Frank Rizzo led a criminal attack against the local Chapter of the BPP in an attempt to circumvent the Plenary Session. The American Friends Service Committee opened numerous facilities to accommodate thousands of people from all over the nation (plus foreign journalists, et al.) who came together for three days of workshops and lectures in Philadelphia. Also, the BPP laid out a strategy of building revolution through the process of instituting a series of programs, building community based organizations, recruiting volunteers and training cadre. This process of outreach would highlight such as survival program as process, such as the Free Clinic/Sickle Cell Anemia Campaign, the Free Busing to Prison Program, the Free Breakfast Program, the Youth Ideology Institute, etc. Organizers were to carry these programs back into the communities from where they came.

The Black Panther Party reported on The Plenary as follows: "Taken as a whole, these reports provided the basis for one of the most progressive Constitutions in the history of humankind. All the people would control the means of production and social institutions. Black and third world people were guaranteed proportional representation in the administration of these institutions, as were women. The right of national self-determination was guaranteed to all oppressed minorities. Sexual self-determination for women and homosexuals was affirmed. A standing army is to be replaced by a people's militia, and the Constitution is to include an interna-

Continued on page 21

CCBPP Photo

Kiilu Nyasha, former BPP member with Emory Douglas, former BPP's Minister of Culture, at the Geronimo jiJaga Pratt Day at Lowell Park in Oakland, CA, 1997.

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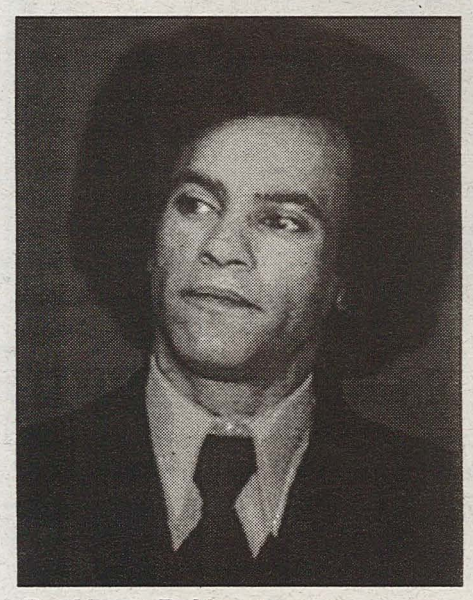
RESPONSE OF THE GOVERNMENT TO THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Huey's Corner



Dr. Huey P. Newton

Editor's Note: The following article is a continuation piece from the December, 2001 Commemorator, *taken from the 1977 Ph.D. dissertation on* The History of Consciousness *by Dr. Huey P. Newton, titled: Response of the Government To The Black Panther Party. It lays out insight, analysis and theory on US propaganda war against the Panthers beginning in 1968, as Newton calls it, "Making the Political 'Criminal.'" ...The "Enemies List" was then incorporated into a detailed plan, commonly known as the Huston Plan after its White House designated coordinator, Tom Charles Huston."*

"The Internal FBI and other police agency documents make clear this objective of pinning the label 'criminal' on the BPP and its leaders, and trying to link criminal activity to the party's efforts at getting support for various survival programs. A 1974 memorandum to the director of the FBI from the special agent in charge of the San Francisco office stated that the local 'FBI office," Newton further writes.

The Administration's Propaganda War Against the Panthers: Making the Political "Criminal"

Upon Richard M. Nixon's election as president in 1968, the Administration addressed itself, in the words of former White House Counsel John Dean, to:

The matter of how we can maximize the fact of our incumbency in dealing with persons known to be active in their opposition to our Administration. Stated a bit more bluntly – how we can use the available federal machinery to screw our political enemies.[1]

A "White House Enemies List" was drawn up by officials of the Nixon Administration. In its original form, this list contained the names of only a few minority political parties or organizations: among them the Panthers, who the Administration linked with "Hughie [sic] Newton," and "George Wallace" of the American Independent Party.[2] Interestingly, though their expressed ideologies were quite opposite, both organizations shared the common feature of having strong grassroots support and active involvement by its members in contrast to the established Democratic and Republican parties.[3] The "Enemies List" was then incorporated into a detailed plan, commonly known as the Huston Plan after its White House designated coordinator, Tom Charles Huston.[4] This plan was approved in 1970 by the former Director of the FBI, J. Edgar Hoover, in cooperation with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), and National Security Agency.[5] It advocated blanket presidential authorization for such practices as wiretapping, mail covers, and black-bag jobs or break-ins. Its main purported function was to improve inter-agency cooperation among the major intelligence agencies.[6] Although this proposed plan was first approved, but allegedly later disapproved by former President Nixon because J. Edgar Hoover decided not to continue to cooperate,[7] the tactics advocated had already been employed by various federal agencies, particularly the FBI, against the Panthers.

Just why the FBI and other federal law enforcement agencies focused early on the party as an "enemy" organization is not difficult to understand. At the start of World War II President Roosevelt directed the Bureau to refocus its resources on priorities it had purportedly given up in 1924—the investigation of political organization and affiliations.[8] Distinctions between foreign espionage and domestic dissident groups became blurred during the height of the war; in fact, "vigilance and caution grew into xenophobia and distrust of anyone who veered noticeably from the political mainstream."[9]

The Cold War followed, the President Truman's establishment of the Federal Employee Loyalty Program.[10] The Bureau, having built up a large contingent of agents to guard the nation's internal security, channeled them into loyalty-security investigations. Thus, the FBI took on officially "the role of a kind of ideological security police, an arbiter of what was inside the boundaries of legitimate political discourse and what outside."[11] In the absence of any effective challenge to this role, the Bureau continued it essentially unabated the program within the Bureau that concentrated on the Panthers.

A more flamboyant assessment was provided by Edward Miller, former assistant director of the FBI in

Continued on page 14

Black Panther Party History Month October 1-31, 2002

Tupac Conference & Concert at Castlemont High School
October 5, 2002 8601 MacArthur Blvd., Oakland

Spoken Word (poetry) at Java House
October 9, 2002 at 7:30 pm 3306 Lakeshore Ave., Oakland

BPP Survival-Program Video/Fugitives at Java House
October 13, 2002 at 7:30 pm 3306 Lakeshore Ave., Oakland

BPP Survival-Program VIDEO/FILM FESTIVAL,
October 18-19, 2002 at Laney College, 901 Fallon, Oakland

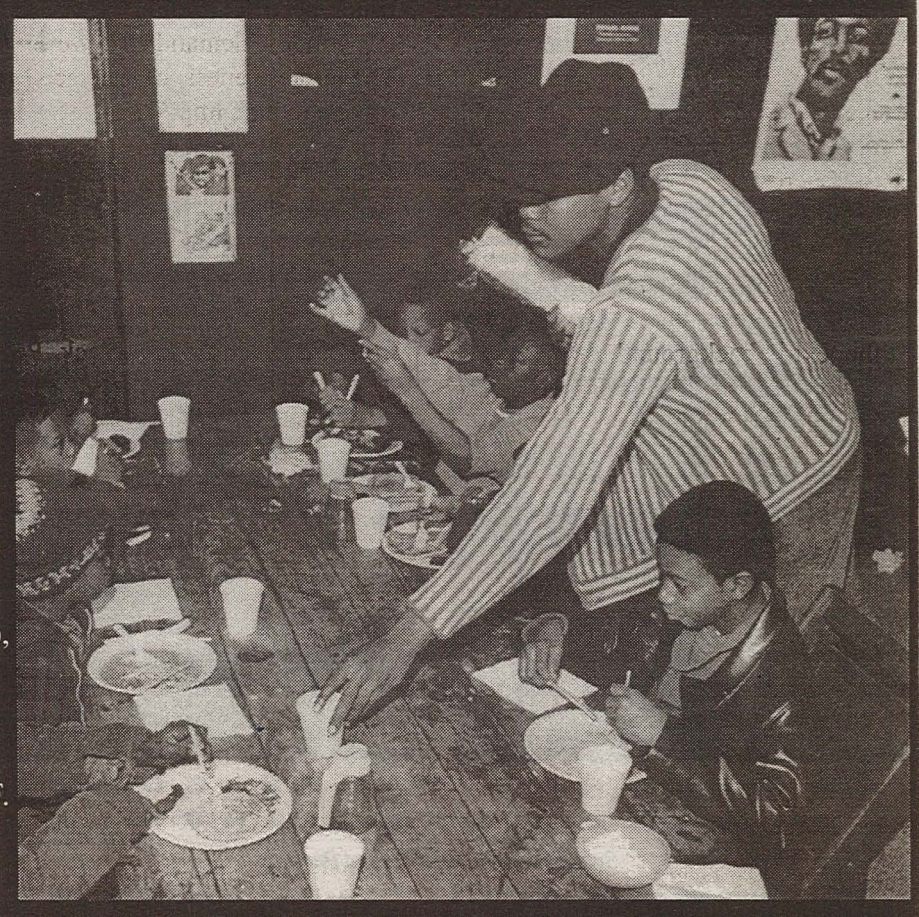
LEGACY DINNER at Geoffrey's Inner Circle
October 19, 2002 410 14th St, Oakland

BAR-B-Q DeFremery Park (Bobby Hutton Park),
October 20, 2002, 1 to 6 pm 18th & Adeline Streets, Oakland

F.U.G.I.T.I.V.E.S./BPP Survival-Program Video
October 23, 2002 at 8 pm at Justice League, 628 Divisadero, S.F.

Community Speakout at Youth Empowerment Center
October 26, 2002 at 2 pm 1357 5th St., Oakland

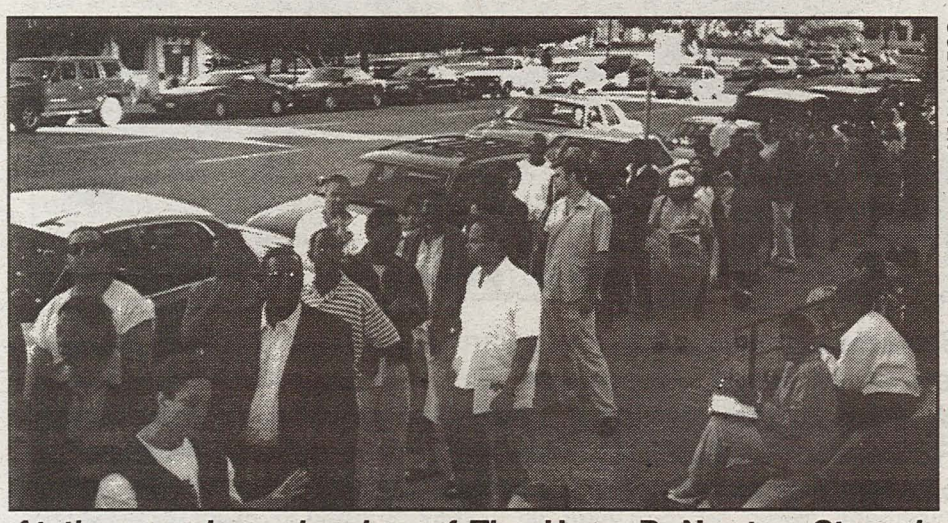
Black Panther Photo Exibit at Oakland Museum,
for the entire month 1000 Oak Street, Oakland



For more information: COMMEMORATION COMMITTEE FOR THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY (510)-652-7170)

Movie Review

'The Huey P. Newton Story'



CCBPP Photo

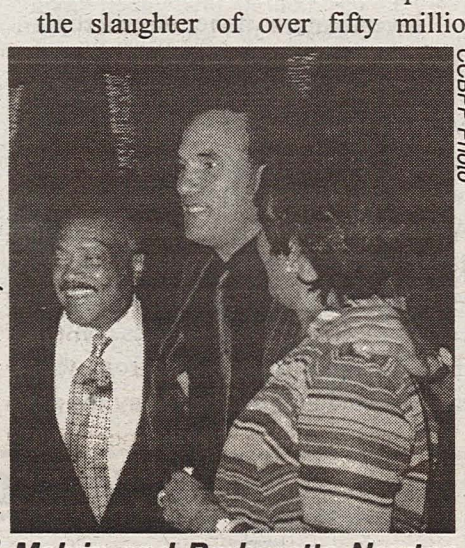
At the premiere showing of* The Huey P. Newton Story *in Oakland, California, people lined up for blocks.

By Denise Banister

I had come to the premiere expecting to learn more of Huey P. Newton's efforts in community advocacy, specifically with the Black Panther Party. The film instead focuses more on his later years, with some retrospective on his years with the Party.

Roger G. Smith's performance was intense and riveting. His portrayal of Huey's emotional travails and eventual breakdown was intensely empathetic. It allowed me to see past the icon to empathize with a fellow human being (my only knowledge of Huey Newton came from the media and issues of the Black Panther Paper read so many years ago). I felt sharply how the combination of pressures, disappointments, and injuries could cause an internal fragmentation of a human soul and the painful struggle to heal after such a crisis. I recognized myself in this portrayal. This, I think, is the best gift an actor can offer…to enable me to see so deeply into a character that I see my own humanness reflected back.

Yet I was very disappointed with the film's abbreviated reference to the Party's service programs. It was so fleeting; flash a few faces, kids at a breakfast program, then gone…why the de-emphasis? Why no solid tie-in to the rest of the film? The same occurred with Huey's discussion of the development of the Ten-Points. I really enjoyed the way we were taken to that point in history; the typing of the text in background, the thoughtful rewording of a paragraph; I was brought right into that moment; I was engaged and hungry to watch the process. Then it was over…no finish. Did we even get to Point #3 [WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES. We believe that the racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency that will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.]? The effectiveness of the scene was ruined and the importance of this brilliantly written document trivialized.



CCBPP Photo

Melvin and Barbaretta Newton with Roger G. Smith (center) who plays Huey P. Newton in the* Huey P. Newton Story *at the June 15, 2001 premiere showing in Oakland.

So my feelings are mixed; I appreciated the actor's work, but regret the terribly missed opportunities. I had hoped for a film that brought the good things (finally) out into the light. The Black Panther Party was a sane, intelligent response to insane conditions. The empowerment that the Party brought to our communities was a crucial and necessary part of the civil rights struggle. I came to the premiere expecting this film would reflect this; that was my expectation, knowing this was a Spike Lee project. How different might the end result have been if AT&T Cable financing had not become involved.

All Power To The People

Book Review

'The Condemnation of Little B.'

The Condemnation of Little B. by Elaine Brown. Beacon Press, 391 pages, $28.50

By Kia Hayes

"Little B. is not one in a million. Little B. is one of millions of children like him in America." - Elaine Brown

Elaine Brown was chairwoman of the Black Panther Party, 1974-1977. The case against Michael Lewis, known as "Little B.," is used as a basis to critically analyze the political and economic strategies that the government uses to demonize African-American youth in low-income communities.

In the United States, the government has waged war against youth of color in impoverished communities. With the passage of legislation such as "Three-Strikes-You're-Out" and Proposition 21, it has become easier for the police to further terrorize African-American and Latino youth whose lives are marked by lack of opportunity due to poverty and systemic racism. In the book Little B. grew up in "The Bluff," a neighborhood in Atlanta, Georgia. According to Brown, "The Bluff is a reflection of a thousand other places where innumerable black Americans suffer a piecemeal existence. Drug addled, lined with liquor stores, and overcome by dilapidated homes..."

In January of 1997 Michael Lewis was convicted and sentenced to life in prison for the shooting death of Darrell Woods. Brown examines the social and political environment, which fostered the lack of support of Little B., his "predestined" conviction and his image as a "Super predator." Brown describes Little B.'s life as a series of events that was marked by extreme poverty and the struggle for daily survival. She writes:

…Michael's life seemed to have been a vortex of treacheries to be survived or endured, never overcome, involving hunger, mostly, for food or a place to stay... He had not been born a boy to be attended to and protected... By the third grade, when his home was the dope house, he knew how to ward off fear like hunger. (P.81)

Little B., like many youth throughout low-income communities, are trying to survive conditions that have been created and sustained through legislation that is designed to protect the profit of corporations and not the people. Brown articulates this government's fallacy about the causes of crime and violence when she writes:

CCBPP Photo

***Elaine Brown, former Black Panther leader with Bobby Coleman,* Commemorator *volunteer. Brown appears at the Oakland Black Museum where she signed autographs and spoke regarding her new book,* The Condemnation of Little B.**

Government authorities inevitably identify a boy living like Little B. did as having "fallen through the cracks," suggesting that American society has structured a network of safeguards, or "safety nets," to guarantee that its children do not go hungry, have decent housing, clothing, healthcare, and education, so children are not forced to resort to surviving by any means necessary…. (P.84)

Brown states that the persistence of "New Age Racism" and poverty is inevitably linked to the conditions of those like Little B. She writes, "Little B. did not fall through the cracks. The statistics suggest that he is the rule rather than the exception." (P.90) The statistics that Brown gives are a startling reminder that there is a critical need to aggressively address the conditions of the poor. She notes, "More than one in three black children in America are poor." Brown quotes many statistics gathered by the president of the Children's Defense Fund (CDF), Marian Wright Edelman. In March of 2000, Edelman stated, "one

Continued on page 21

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ASK FOR DEBRA

Free Ruchell

Continued from page 1

into a local radio station where he could air untold truths about the prison conditions that poor and minority men and women were subjugated to, as well as to demand the release of the Soledad Brothers.

The rebel-led group of nine did not even get their van out of the parking lot before prison guards and sheriffs received the O.K. from then-governor Ronald Reagan to open fire on the entire group. They showered the van with shots, killing Christmas, Jackson, McClain and the judge. The jurors made it out unscathed, but the D.A. was permanently paralyzed. Seriously wounded but alive lay Magee. As the only surviving August 7 rebel (and therefore, the "fall guy") Magee, for the second time in eight years, had the book thrown at him. His charges: two counts of kidnapping, murder, conspiracy to murder, and conspiracy to aid the escape of state prisoners. These proved to be trumped-up, as all but the two kidnap charges were either dropped or dismissed. Magee was convicted of PC 207, simple kidnap. As for the PC 209 charge, kidnapping for the purposes of extortion, a jury acquitted Magee. The judge refused to acknowledge the acquittal and declared a "mistrial." (See the sworn affidavit of Jury Foreman Bernard Suares) Magee was tried again for the same crime, in violation of his constitutional right of protection against Double Jeopardy. Magee was convicted this second time and remains in prison until this day.

According to common practice and established matrices of sentencing guidelines (as stated earlier) Magee's 1963 and 1970 simple kidnapping charges should have carried an actual sentence of no more than 17 years. That the U.S. justice system would allow these sentences to stretch beyond its own guidelines is an indication of a discriminatory distaste it has for African Americans who have challenged their brutal and very often unjust incarcerations. That the U.S. justice system would even allow Magee's initially dismissed charges to result in a later conviction that stands to this day is confirmation of the distaste. This kind of treatment was happening before the Civil Rights Movement and continues to this day.

During his 1970 trial, Magee adopted the name and defense of Joseph Cinque, who in 1841 and along with other enslaved Africans took over a Spanish slave ship, killed the crew (except for the pilot) and attempted to sail back to Africa. The pilot instead steered the "Amistad" into the U.S. coast. Spain tried to get the ship and their slaves back, but U.S. courts (paradoxically) argued that as captives, Cinque and the others had every right to resist slavery and fight for their freedom. Magee used this position to contest the 1963 sentence against him. It gained even more relevance after the 1970 August 7 Rebellion and Magee continues to fight like this to this day. Please help to free Ruchell "Cinque" Magee.

All Power To The People

To: California State Regulating Agency (CSR),
P.O. Box 3461, Corcoran, CA 93212

From: _____
Regarding: RUCHELL CINQUE MAGEE A92051 —

After 40 years of imprisonment without any major incident or disciplinary infraction, one would think that Ruchell Magee is entitled to be placed in one of California's Level Three prisons instead of the Level Four prison in Corcoran, CA where he is currently detained. This maximum-security facility (like others) is notorious for unjustly subjugating inmates to assault and injury from other disturbed and violence-prone prisoners, as well as to set-ups orchestrated by guards. Ruchell has had an enormous amount of unjustified "custody points" for supposed malconduct. These points, administered by a biased, politically-tied classification committee, ensures that he is unable to further his cause for liberation. Ruchell's freedom is made more inaccessible by the prison authorities' restriction of his legal and political access, an asset that would be much more available at a lower-level facility such as California's Mulecreek state prison. (He was originally scheduled to be sent there after his transfer from the state's Pelican Bay facility two years ago. Instead, Ruchell was diverted to Corcoran without explanation.)

I Support Ruchell Cinque Magee (inmate #A92051) by demanding he be transferred from Corcoran to the Level Three prison at Mulecreek, which will prepare him for his eventual release from prison altogether. It's about time for Ruchell Magee to be free.

PETITION

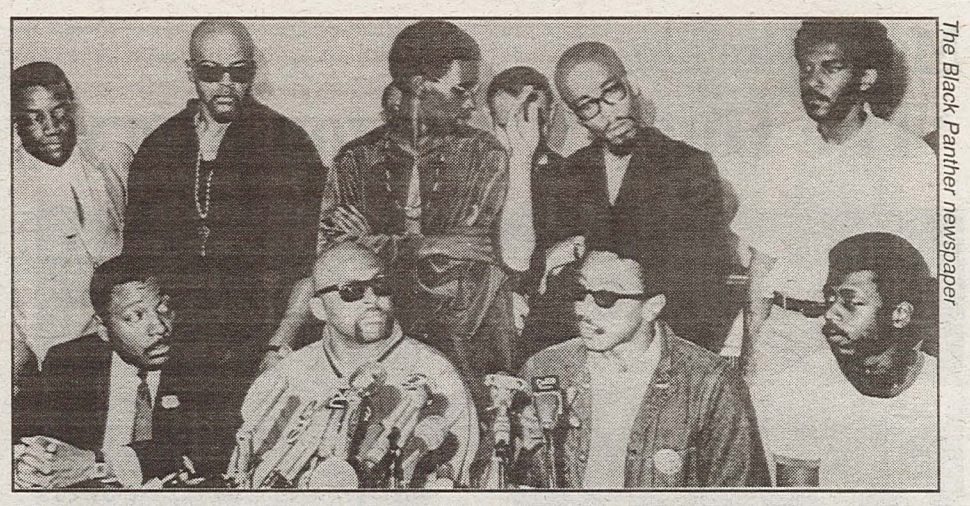
We concerned citizens have read the attached appeal by Ruchell Cinque Magee. We urge your office to remove all points or explain in writing the criteria for the points in question.

Sincerely,

_____ _____

_____ _____

Please send an additional copy of this petition to:
The Ruchell "Cinque" Magee Freedom Petition
525 E. 55th Place Tulsa, Oklahoma, 74126



The Black Panther newspaper

Seated in front row are comedian Dick Gregory, Ron Karenga, leader of Black Nationalist Cultural Organization, "U.S.," H. Rap Brown, national chairman of SNCC and, Ralph Featherstone of SNCC, who led a four-day conference on black power in 1967, in Los Angeles, California.

Jamil Abdullah Al-Amin Framed

Continued from page 3

sought to discredit Wilson by bringing up totally unrelated felony convictions in his past.

Investigators nonetheless confident that Al-Amin was the shooter declared a nationwide manhunt. On March 20, 2000, Al-Amin was located in White Hall, Alabama, where he said he fled to out of fear for his life. Al-Amin had spent time in the area in the 1960's helping to register Blacks to vote and was well known and respected by city officials. FBI agents contend that Al-Amin fired on them from within a forested area and that they did not retaliate. Three separate witnesses, all of whom said they had no prior knowledge of Al-Amin, contradicted the FBI's version of events by reporting that they did in fact see federal agents firing into the woods. At least one FBI agent beat and spit upon Al-Amin during his voluntary arrest. Special Agent Ronald Campbell admitted to assaulting Al-Amin, prompting the FBI to attempt to fire him in an uncharacteristically quick manner.

The FBI also claimed that they found a Browning automatic pistol, a Ruger semi-automatic rifle and a shell casing all in the immediate area where Al-Amin was arrested. None of the "evidence" bore fingerprints. Al-Amin's defense team argued that the discoveries were "too neat."

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Popular perception of Al-Amin and of the allegations against him seem to have been molded in large part by sensationalistic media outlets that exploit the fact that the Black Panther Party temporarily drafted Al-Amin in 1968 as an honorary Minister of Justice. The BPP appointed H. Rap Brown (as he was formerly known) in recognition of his passionate effort to mobilize African Americans against the historically — and still persistent — unjust and unequal treatment. Aside from the ridiculousness of equating the Black Panther Party with criminality, the fact that Al-Amin spent substantially more time as the chairman for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and that he has been a nationally recognized and respected Imam for nearly 25 years, has been largely under-reported.

Most revealing is a 1995 accusation of aggravated assault by a man in Atlanta who claimed that Al-Amin shot him. The man later recanted and said that he was pressured by authorities to identify Al-Amin as the shooter. It should come as no surprise that many observers of this case are suspicious of the identifications and evidence offered by the FBI and other law enforcement agencies, given their historically repressive stance towards social and political dissidents. In this particular case, Al-Amin says, "They still fear a personality, a character coming up among African Americans who could galvanize support among all the different elements of the African American community…They are trying to crush Islam before it realizes its own worth and strength."

As an Imam and dedicated member of his community, Al-Amin has worked successfully to strengthen families and combat drug abuse in the maligned West End section of Atlanta, Georgia. These, in fact, were mitigating circumstances that enabled Al-Amin to avoid the death penalty. However, Al-Amin has been sentenced to life in prison without the possibility of parole (effectively a drawn-out "death penalty"). Authorities transported him to the Georgia Diagnostic and Classification Prison in Jackson, Georgia, where he will undergo three to four months of physical and mental tests to determine his health and "security risk."

The man later recanted and said that he was pressured by authorities to identify Al-Amin as the shooter.

Jamil Abdullah Al-Amin's plight is far from over, for further information will likely surface as the incidents in March of 2000 and the subsequent trial are reviewed. Al-Amin realizes this and recognizes the need for us all to be diligent. In a statement released after the trial, Al-Amin asserted confidently: "It's still five prayers a day. This decision should pierce the consciousness of many people and let them see the intensity of struggle. We should raise our level of struggle. Now things are on another level."

All power to the people.

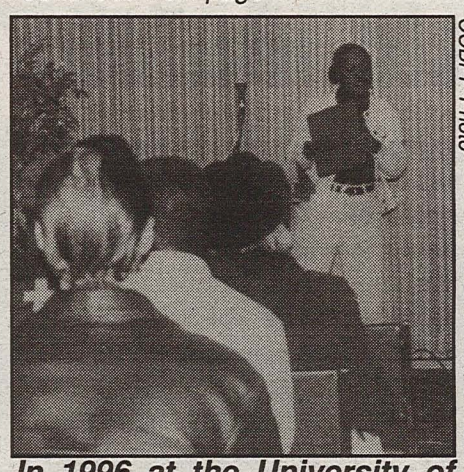
FOOTNOTES:

[1] Julio Butler was exposed as being an FBI informant who infiltrated Black Panther Party offices and stole information. Cynthia White, a prostitute who worked the area in Philadelphia where the Abu-Jamal incident occurred, has been exposed for exchanging false testimony for immunity.

[2] Al-Amin was carrying a badge that he had been given by the mayor of Whitehall, Alabama as an honorary policeman.

In Memoriam: Tiffany Hall

Continued from page 4



CCBPP Photo

In 1996 at the University of Oregon (Eugene) Tiffany Hall spoke with students about Black Panther Party 10-Point Program and how CCBPP is building solidarity with students and workers.

Southern Oregon University in Medford, the University of Oregon in Eugene, Portland State University and the University of Washington in Seattle. Through various forms of outreach in the Bay Area community, including community canvassing, Tiffany was instrumental in the recruitment of both volunteers and sponsors, many of whom help to keep CCBPP's non-government supported programs going today.

"Tiffany's outspoken opposition to modern atrocities can serve as a model for many people," added Dickson. "In her eloquence, she helped bridge the gap between the Black Panther movement of the 1960s and the struggles we face now. Tiffany celebrated the goals and principles of the Panther's Ten-Point Program through her much needed participation with Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party. She had a passion for social justice and it fueled her involvement in revolutionary and humanitarian causes.

"I recall my first impression of her, when she came into the office seeking a place where she could learn the history of the Black Panther Party (BPP). It was the summer of 1993. Her demeanor was calmly serious, with a youthful and honest expression on her face. She simply wanted to learn from us. Through the education and training we provided her, she came to understand the need for fundamental change, not just as something that needs to happen in faraway places, such as Somalia and the Congo, or even Mexico, but right here in the United States. Yet she died seeking social acceptance in a highly-competitive society that values status symbols and appearance over fundamental human needs, merit and principles.

"What a tragedy and paradox. What a loss. We have to do more to save our people from the abyss of bourgeois emptiness. It's not enough to criticize a sick society that teaches that you have to become something you're not to be accepted. We have to become active in changing the value system and uproot the causes for such warped ideas that are actively promoted by a profit-driven system of greed. The Tiffany Hall that I knew fought to change those twisted values through joining with the Commemoration Committee promoting goals and principles for the advance of our entire class," stated Dickson.

After graduating from California State University San Francisco in 1996 with her Bachelor of Science degree in Chemistry, Tiffany got a job as a water-quality chemist for San Francisco's Public Utilities Commission while she also pursued a graduate degree. She took time out to participate in a working trip to Cambodia for a month to help fight the AIDS epidemic there last year, 2001.

Tiffany had recently paid a visit to the volunteer organizers of the Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party who were shocked and saddened by her death and the loss of all her tremendous potential at such a young age.

Tiffany J. Hall is survived by her parents Charles Hall and Bobbie Hall; brother Tim Hall; sister Cher'i Hall; grandmother Jo Slaughter; aunts and uncles Robert Noble, Shirley Noble, Walter Noble, Georgia Tibbs, Lillie Stevenson, James Noble, Alberta Noble, Doris Smith, Jewel McCalland, John Noble, David Noble; her beloved nephew Raf'i Arrington, and numerous cousins.

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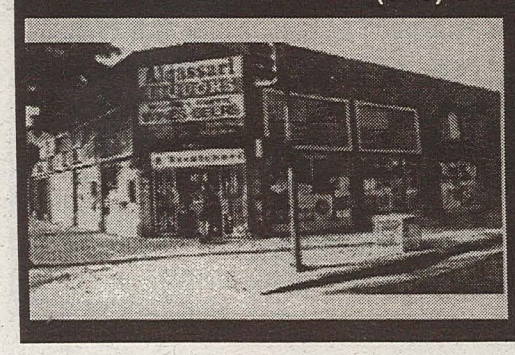

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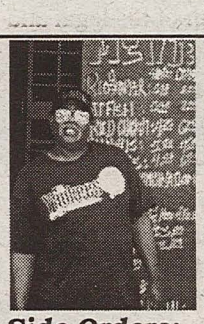

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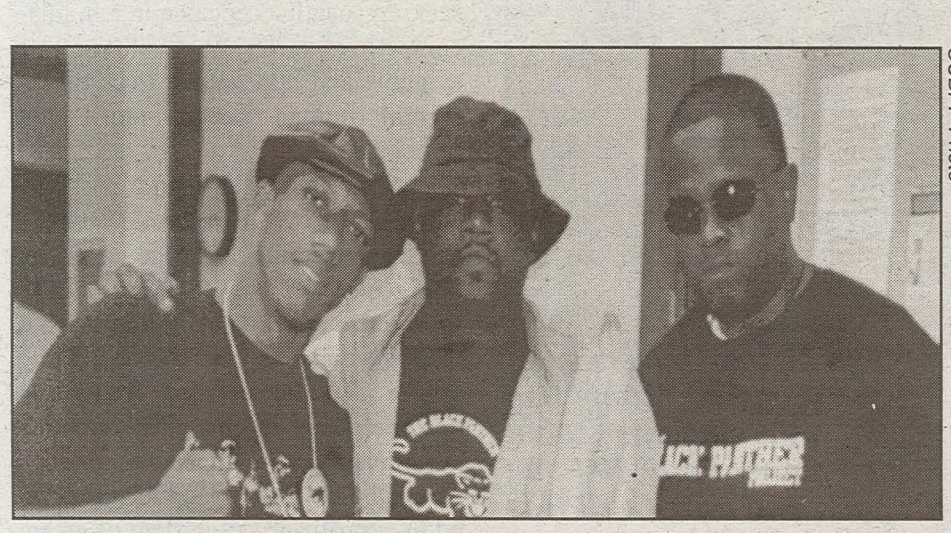

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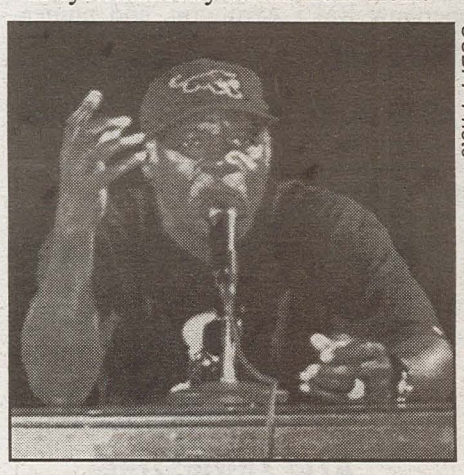
Meet the F.U.G.I.T.I.V.E.S.: (from left) Bones, Jamiel, and J.U.G.

CCBPP Photo

Brandon Price, volunteer organizer MC'd the event.

By Robert Madeiros and Patricia Eagan

How well do you fare on your Black Panther History test? The high school and university system neither taught it nor tested us on this, even though for anyone who is dissatisfied with this country and wants to change it, a knowledge of the history of what has been done in the past is essential. The ruling class constantly steals our history and legacy from us in the same way that the history and legacy of African slaves was systematically stolen from them.



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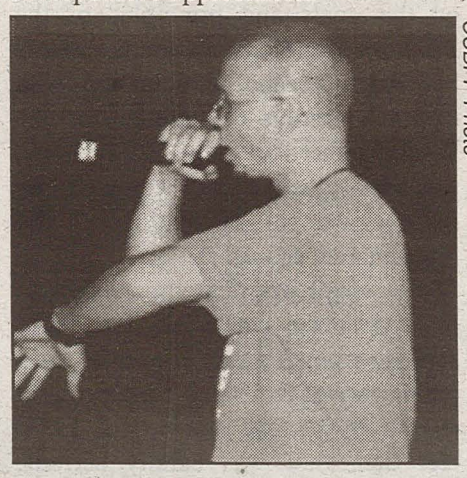
David Hilliard, former BPP member, Black Panther Records producer and co-founder makes an emphatic case for organizing in the community.

On July 26, however, the Black Panther legacy was alive and well. A few of us from the Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party joined other community participants at New College Theater in San Francisco. Talented performers from all over the Bay Area used arts and culture to pass on this legacy—alive and kickin'—to an eager and appreciative audience.

Brandon Price, the evening's master of ceremonies, first introduced rap artist Lynx to kick-off the program. His voice and purpose were clear: to put a word out to those who benefit from the status quo and are about to get a reality check. Lynx's lyrics were unique in their creativity, and well crafted to suit listeners of all denominations. He worked off topical themes often given voice in slam poetry, yet his rapping style heightened the urgency within the songs. Young, artistic, and with a purpose—Lynx's energy was contagious; soon the audience began to respond in a head-nodding and arm-raising chorus of responsive appreciation.



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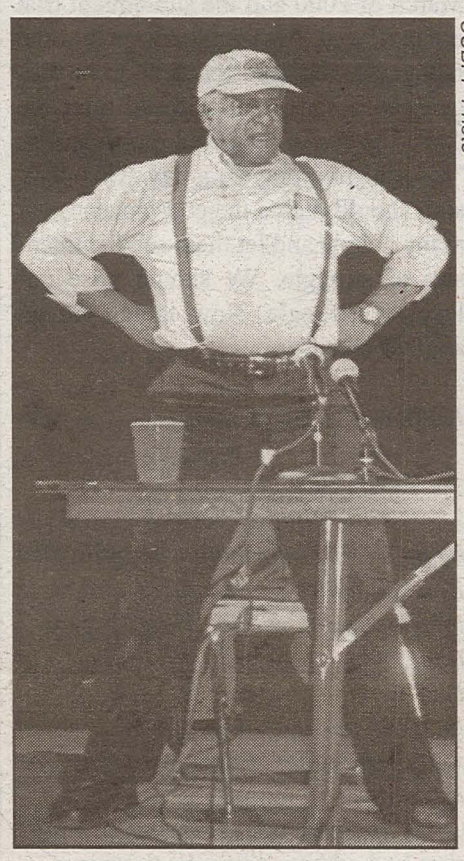
Rap artist Lynx opened the show as leading representative of the Hip-Hop Congress.

After Lynx got everyone pumped a bit, the F.U.G.I.T.I.V.E.S. assumed the stage. The brainchild band of the new Black Panther Records, these members—Bones, J.U.G. and Jamiel—are the sons and friends of former Black Panther members. The group's name is an acronym for "Future Under the Guidance of Intelligent True Individuals who Visualize Every Struggle." Each member of the F.U.G.I.T.I.V.E.S. feeds awareness and hope into their music, laying bare the issues and offering united strength amidst hardship. Intermingled with their beats play some speeches from BPP leaders, including Huey Newton, Bobby Seale, Eldridge Cleaver, David Hilliard, Elaine Brown, Fred Hampton and Ericka Huggins.

Tracks from the album "All Of Us" by the F.U.G.I.T.I.V.E.S. were featured in the next contribution to the evening's festivities: a documentary film called "For Survival," about the BPP's past history and present consciousness in Berkeley youth. (The song used in the film deals with the new F.B.I. thrust promoted by President George Bush and Attorney General Dan Ashcroft, which is the resurrection of a counterintelligence program, or "COINTELPRO," used against the BPP and other organizations in the revolutionary movement of the 1960's.)

CCBPP Photo

***Christina Harrison, Marela Keys, Rose Thomas and Anita Bakshi (left to right) lead a panel discussion on the direction of their film* For Survival.**

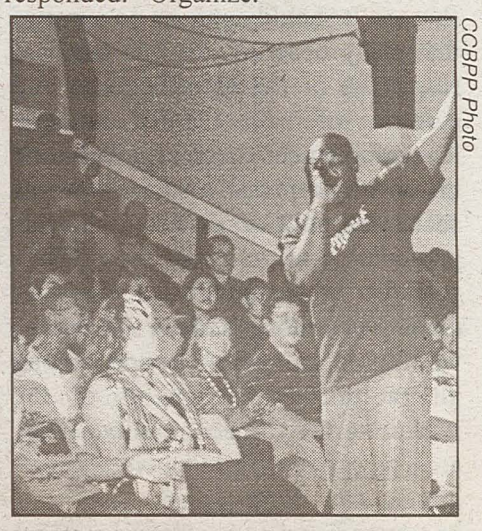


CCBPP Photo

Bobby Seale makes a surprise appearance at the event; here, he re-creates the genesis of the Black Panther Party.

David Hilliard offered guidance on the project, and appeared with many other former BPP members to articulate the benefits of community organizing. Amidst addressing the Black Panther's Ten Point Program, which demands free public access to resources such as education, health care, work and housing, interview clips with the students and teachers of Berkeley High made their appearances. The question, "Do you know what the Black Panther Party is?" elicited various responses, most of which were something along the lines of "They were a black nationalist group out of Oakland." When asked "Is the BPP History taught at Berkeley High?" all the answers came out the same: "No."

Former Black Panther members formed a panel. David Hilliard, author of *This Side of Glory*, and producer of the Black Panther Records label, pointed out his objectives in promoting the F.U.G.I.T.I.V.E.S. He said that "The Black Panther Party used music to help build survival programs. Music and education were always a part of our program. Young hip-hop youth today need to focus on how to unite the community to the vision of the Black Panther Ten Point Program." When asked by a youth what the next generation can do, David responded: "Organize."



CCBPP Photo

Jamiel leads the F.U.G.I.T.I.V.E.S. in forwarding their pro-active message.

Education is a high priority with the F.U.G.I.T.I.V.E.S., they told CCBPP volunteer Mike Wickliffe in an interview with the group during an intermission. Lead rapper Jamiel Hassan, speaking about the group's first album said, "It's a matter of educating the masses about who and what we are, just as most first albums do—just kind of put it down for your little crew or your little clique, and our clique just happens to be historically and politically connected to our music. We're definitely going to let them know and educate their minds as much as we can with this . . . whether it's the speech, the etiquettes, and the words we speak, you know . . . getting into not only what Ashcroft's doing now, but getting back to what our parents and my parents were going through back then with the Party. So it's like, you know, 'Damn, here we go again!' . . . But it ain't just the Black folks anymore. It's all of us about to get hit by the police." Jamiel confirmed that the group has a larger project in mind, saying that their trilogy CD project began years ago; their next two albums are to be titled "The Lumpen Proletariat" and "Revolutionary Suicide." Jamiel's father, Bill Calhoun, was a Panther who started a musical group called The Lumpen with other Party members. While the Lumpen performed soul, F.U.G.I.T.I.V.E.S. have a hip-hop spin to their sound. They share the message, however, drawing from the BPP's Ten Point Program.

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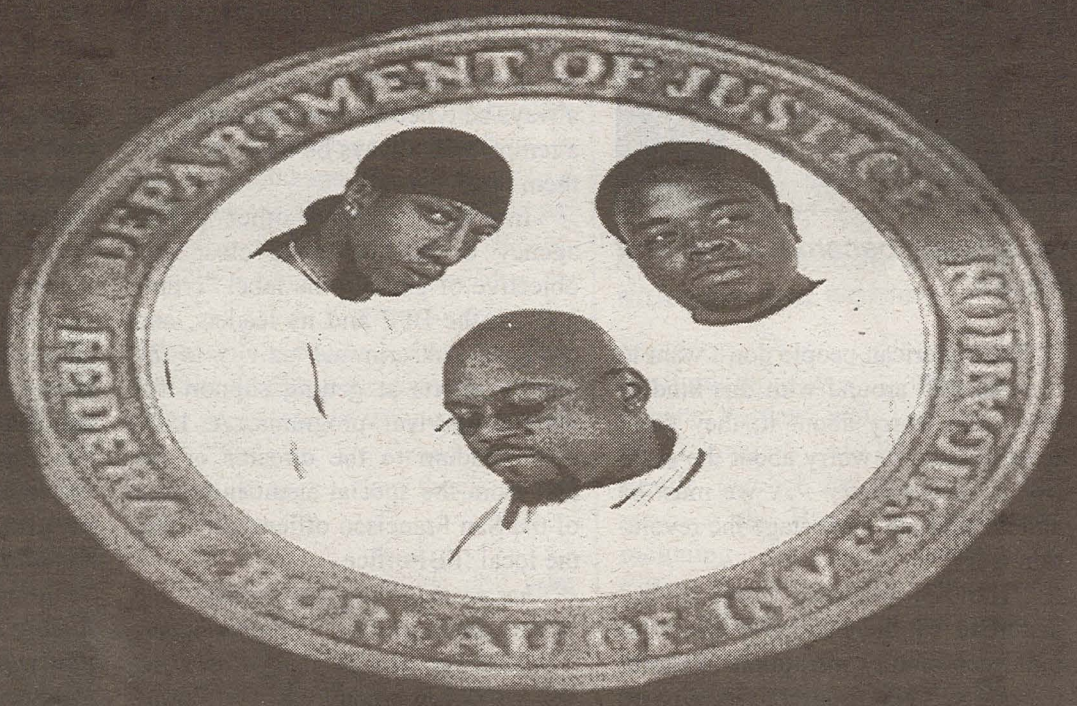
THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY .25¢

THE F.U.G.I.T.I.V.E.S.



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Throughout 1968 the Free Huey slogan became a militant demand, especially with angry Blacks.

Huey's Corner

Continued from page 8

charge of the Intelligence Division, upon his retirement in 1974:

Rome lasted for six hundred years, and we are just coming on to our two-hundredth. That doesn't mean that we have four hundred to go. We have to step back and look at ourselves protectively. . . How much of this dissent and revolution talk can we really stand in a healthy country? Revolutions always start in a small way . . . Economic conditions are bad; the credibility of government is low. These are the things that the homegrown revolutionary is monitoring very closely. The FBI's attention must be focused on these various situations. If it weren't the Bureau wouldn't be doing its job for the American people . . . The American people don't want to have to fool around with this kind of thing and worry about it; they don't want to have to worry about the security of their country . . . We must be able to find out what stage the revolution is in.[13]

The FBI was also aware of and disturbed by the Panther's efforts to build community institutions. Indeed, the one survival program that seemed most laudatory – that of providing free breakfasts to children — was pinpointed by J. Edgar Hoover as the "real long range threat to American society."[14] The ostensible reason for this was that children participating in the program were being propagandized, which simply meant they were taught ideas, or an ideology, the FBI and Hoover disliked. Yet Hoover was not so naïve as to believe an overt ideological war was any longer sufficient to garner the support or noninterference necessary for the Bureau to destroy the panthers. A better rational or "cover" for the public would have to be employed. This new "cover" for secret police operations was, as the Huston Plan suggested, a crusade against criminals and terrorists. Now the Administration would fight "crime," not ideologies.

This technique for destroying controversial political organizations is, of course, not new.

History should teach us . . . that in times of high emotional excitement, minority parties and groups which advocate extremely unpopular social or governmental innovations will always be typed as criminal gangs and attempts will always be made to drive them out.[15]

Internal FBI and other police agency documents make clear this objective of pinning the label "criminal" on the BPP and its leaders, and trying to link criminal activity to the party's efforts at getting support for various survival programs. A 1974 memorandum to the director of the FBI from the special agent in charge of the San Francisco office stated that the local 'FBI office

has continued to follow Newton's and his associates' activities . . . Primarily, the . . . office has been pursuing Hobbs Act and/or ITAR-Extortion cases on Newton and/or his associates. Although investigations to date, including contacts with other law enforcement agencies . . . has failed to develop information indicating that Newton and his associates are extorting funds from businesses. . . This office is of the opinion that Newton is or has been extorting funds from legitimate businesses. . .

In addition to the contacts noted above [i.e., the Alcohol, Tobacco, Tax and Firearms Section of the Department of Justice in Oakland, California, the Oakland Police Department, the Berkeley Police Department and various informants], the San Francisco Office is selectively contacting pimps and narcotic pushers in the Oakland area in an attempt to develop further intelligence and positive information concerning possibly Federal violations on the part of Newton and his associates.

This matter will continue to receive vigorous investigative attention.[16]

Interestingly, the Bureau and others seem to feel that any contribution from a business, whether considered legitimate or not, to the BPP survival programs could not be voluntary; it would have to come from "extortion." Despite a failure to obtain any evidence of extortion, the Bureau continued to hold the opinion that it took place and to try to develop information for a Hobbs' Act prosecution. In 1973, for instance, the Assistant Attorney General who figured prominently in the Watergate investigations, Henry E. Peterson, wrote the Acting Director of the FBI regarding Newton and BPP.

During the course of filming a movie in Oakland, California, Harvey Bernhard [a film director], was contacted by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale who threatened to picket the filming site unless a $5,000 contribution was made to the Black Panther Party. We note that Bernhard now states that while he gave $5,000 to Newton, he does not feel that he was extorted in any way and that he did not wish to testify. In light of this, and considering that Max Julien [an actor in the film] who was present when Bernhard met Newton, cannot recall any discussion of money or picketing, there is insufficient evidence to warrant

Continued on page 16

Urban Removal

Continued from page 6

(from the perspective of capitalism) there is no longer any logical reason to pay for housing, feeding, clothing, and transporting a massive industrial army, which includes in very substantial part ghetto residents and lower-income people of the central cities.

Capitalism is therefore earnestly in the throes of constructing a new infrastructure, one consistent with its new mode of global exploitation. This new infrastructure is necessarily not consistent with large scale American domestic manufacturing, but is consistent with the role of America's ruling-class as global financiers and overseers of the ruthless exploitation of the working-class worldwide.

This is why you see the developers' wrecking balls everywhere in the hood. They're there to destroy what's left of the old industrial manufacturing base and pave the way for a new administrative, financial, managerial, global infrastructure. A new sophisticated and co-optive community police state is a centerpiece of this scenario.

This is exactly why you don't and won't see a lot of affordable housing going up. Instead, convention centers (where the dynamics of global oppression are being worked out in real time), condominiums, hotels, shopping malls, sports-entertainment megaplexes are being constructed (where administrative, executive, managerial strata will reside and play attended to by an army of low-paid service workers). But before this transformation can be completed there must be what they call urban renewal, which is really urban removal of lower-income people, families, tenants, landlords, businesses, and community organizations.

As members of an oppressed community we cannot say that we are free when we have no control over the institutions within our communities that determine the day-to-day conditions of our lives. The difference between being on the subjective (determining) end and objective (determined) end of history is organization, which is one of the principal lessons of history.

The essence of "All Power to the People" lies in understanding that true power begins and ends with the determination of the class conscious oppressed masses organized in our own historic self-interest. This is precisely what the Black Panther Party 10-Point Program represents. When we place our hopes in the oppressor's institutions instead of our own organized efforts we automatically accede all power to the oppressor and thereby reject the principle of all power to the people.

To Women Prisoners

Families With A Future is holding a lottery for you to have visits with your children. We are encouraging women who are serving terms 5 years and longer, to apply. There is no guarantee that a visit can or will happen, but if your name is chosen, we will do our best to coordinate with your family or extended family for a visit with your children. If you are a donor and wish to donate again, this is what we need:

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Which Side Are You On?

Continued from page 2

trayed by a capitalist-biased media, that is tied to the same profit system through multinational investment such as Fox, Disney/ABC, AOL/Time-Warner, as just a few bad apples in the cart.

The recent reports of insider trading and corporate deceit have caused the stock market to plunge even more, costing Americans millions of jobs and jeopardizing countless workers' retirement funds that were once thought to be secure. This is unprecedented in our lifetimes in its immensity and gravity.

In the face of this, the Bush Administration and their Wall Street friends have not given up on trying to hoodwink the American people into thinking it is a good idea to invest their Social Security moneys in the stock market.

From Wall Street to California

Arturo Perez, an analyst with the National Conference of State Legislatures, admitted in an article published in the July 27 edition of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, that the State of California has been gambling with the money of the workers, taxpayers and residents, and this is common to many states. According to Perez, "the state has been riding the roller coaster of the stock market for a couple of years…If the market continues to slide, then there will be much less that the state can count on."

In other words, California's poorly managed economy and its 23.6 billion dollar budget deficit are directly the result of the fact that those with the responsibility for managing our money went gambling with it.

If your husband or wife took the family income that you had planned to spend on rent, groceries and clothing and lost it gambling, what would you want to do? Well, what are you willing to do when the government and business executives of this country have stolen your money in a fixed game??

In West Oakland, where the Black Panther Party began, unemployment is over 75%. Milton Jackson, a retired Oakland resident who has been forced out of his community because of gentrification and the increased costs for taxes and insurance, said, "the government will find some way to make the poor and working class communities pay for all this insider trading by the rich and find a way to give more privileges to the wealthy."

Raymond Joe of Emeryville, a former Black Panther who volunteers with the CCBPP said, "The government and the media are already poised to translate these losses into cutbacks in economic opportunity and service programs for the poor. That's exactly what happened when they caught those people in the 80's with those junk bonds, and with the savings and loan companies. They gave us prison labor, workfare and enterprise zones."

"We don't have rich attorneys to represent us when we are caught stealing a loaf of bread," Rebecca Williams, who has lived in North Richmond, California since 1975, told *The Commemorator*.

Let's Look at the Bush Administration Record Since the Inauguration of 2001

1. Since the 9-11 terrorist attacks, Mr. Bush's $212 billion "economic stimulus" package (tax cuts) sailed through both houses in October 2001 largely unquestioned. One hundred billion dollars of these funds were allotted directly to this country's most powerful corporations. The supposed intent of this move was to help these corporations retain workers. Without any formal regulations or government guidelines, corporations cut corners and were left unchecked. The irony is in how these companies spent their federal aid money.

2. The features of President Bush's economic policies have been calculated attacks on poor and working class communities, to say the least. With no less planning and precision than they are planning the attacks on Iraq, they are executing a plan of attack against our people in this country. The following are some of the proposed economic attacks upon the poor working class of America that linger until the opportune time arises for them to go through the various committees:

LET'S BE CLEAR: THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NO EVIDENCE LINKING OUR PRESIDENT TO THE ENRON SCANDAL!
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SO WHAT IF WE USED TO WORK FOR THEM?
SO PLEASE! DON'T TRY TO SELL THIS AS A CASE OF WHITE HOUSE COMPLICITY WITH RUNAWAY CORPORATE GREED...
...IN THE ALASKAN WILDLIFE REFUGE.
HEY! HORNBOY! WHERE'S YOUR T-SHIRT?

Illustration by Tim Eagan

·Debilitate the 40-hour work week and overtime protections by allowing employers to substitute compensatory pay for time-and-a-half overtime pay.

·Eliminate the federal minimum wage and overtime pay for millions of workers in funeral homes and certain sales and computer occupations.

·Allow employers to slash hourly and overtime pay for workers by designating some or all of a worker's pay as an "incentive" or "performance bonus."

3. Some of the capitalist corporations that benefited from Mr. Bush's "economic stimulus" (i.e., corporate socialism) package were not held accountable for their actions, nor were they guided by standards of any kind. Upon receiving their $15 billion share, airline companies actually laid off 200,000 workers. Sixteen companies, many of which gave large donations to the Bush campaign, will pay little or no taxes. The allotment of federal funds to big corporations was as follows:

-IBM received $1.4 billion
-Ford received $1 billion
-General Motors received $833 million
-General Electric received $671 million
-Texas Utilities received $608 million
-DaimlerChrysler received $600 million
-Chevron Texaco received $572 million
-United Airlines received $371 million
-Enron received $254 million
-Phillips Petroleum received $241 million
-American Airlines received $184 million
-MCI Global received $155 million
-Comdisco received $144 million
-CMS Energy received $136 million
-Westvaco received $112 million
-K-Mart received $102 million

The huge tax cuts for wealthy families, ranging from $30,000 to $500,000, did not benefit the 95% of families in the United States making under $66,500 a year. These families received nothing. With one hand, President Bush gave money to corporations who continue to fire workers in the United States in order to exploit cheaper labor overseas; and with the other hand, Bush takes directly from the American worker.

Since taking office, George W. Bush has suspended rules that would have strengthened the government's ability to deny contracts to companies that violate workplace safety in addition to environmental regulations and other federal laws; he cut $200 million in workforce training for dislocated workers; he cut a program to provide childcare to low-income families as they move from welfare to work; and he signed a bill making it more difficult for poor and middle class Americans to file for bankruptcy.

President Bush sidesteps federal laws concerning the minimum wage and workplace safety, while at the same time, he tosses out the Bill of Rights in order to maximize profits for the rich and maximize his ability to oppress and incarcerate poor people. Bush justifies his actions that increase the growing gap between the rich and poor, deeming all who oppose him "terrorists." His "master plan" revolves around and evolves from 9-11, which produced a rare opportunity for the administration to advance repression wrapped up in the American flag on an unprecedented scale.

The pretense is to protect the American people from "terrorism" but in reality protect monopoly capitalism like never before, in light of the downturn of the stock market, and the recent revelation of corrupt insider trading, which includes both the President's and Vice President's past involvement in illegal trading. Protection for the rich is Bush's highest priority.

Continued on page 22

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Artist Corner: Politics/Music/Art

Continued from page 12

With all the evening's artistic input, the audience jumped at the opportunity to ask some questions. Christine, one of the project's contributors, spoke to this, saying that the film started off as a class project: "We're a community-sponsored program called CAS (Communication Arts and Sciences) and they brought the idea to us. It started off as an assignment, but it kind of became an extra-curricular activity. It was really a learning experience." Director Anita Bakshi and her contributing associates attended this inaugural screening of their work. Anita Bakshi and three of the student producers gathered to field some of the audience inquiry. "Where did you get the idea from?" "What did you learn from the project?"

Anita's excitement about the documentary paralleled that of her co-contributors, responding, "I learned a little bit more about my history, because when I came here to work on this video, I wasn't quite sure who the Black Panthers were, to be honest."

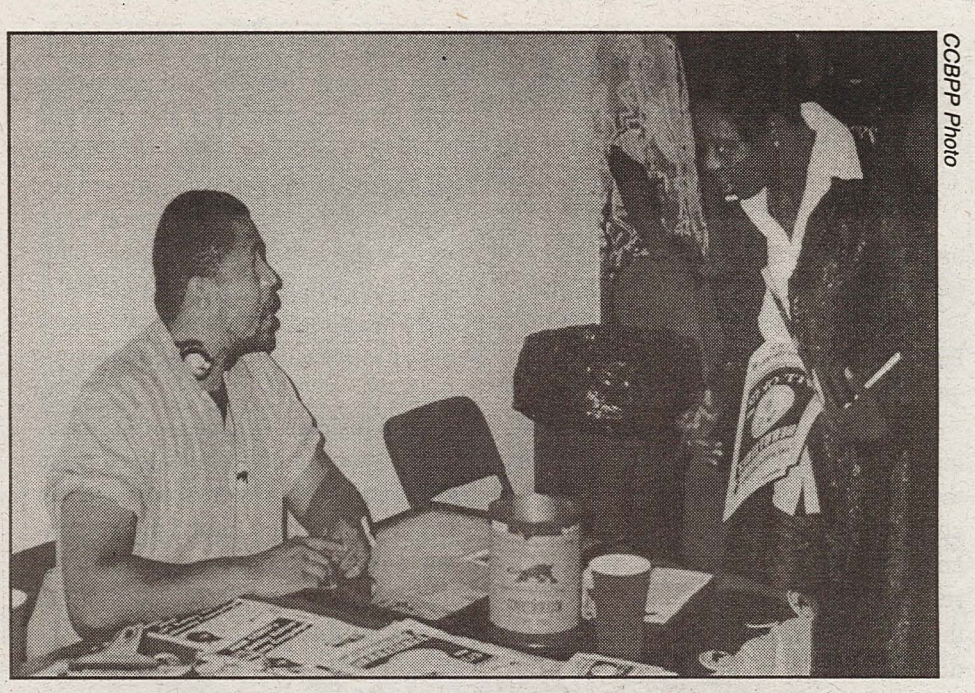
Volunteers from CCBPP staffed a literature table and both absorbed and contributed energy at the event. The energy in the theater space was unmistakably electric. Young and determined listeners populated the theater seats along side veterans of the '60s, including some former Panthers. The Bay Area community as I never had experienced it found refuge in our company. The audience had been provided with inspiration to spare before Brandon introduced a surprise guest for the evening: "Please welcome Bobby Seale!"

He was boisterous and giddy. He spoke to us about supporting economic projects like Black Panther Records, and putting our heads together for change.

When Bobby started talking about Huey Newton, the beginnings of the Black Panther Party, he stood up, and came front and center before the audience. He shared a story of Huey encouraging him to recite the poem "Uncle Sammy Call Me Fulla Lucifer." When he recited it for the audience that night, he received a standing ovation.

He also recalled the intensity of the times when the BPP began, including the first night the Party went on police patrol in Oakland. "Man," he said as if to plead with our imaginations, "you have to imagine the times back then. When Huey and I started the Party, I worked for a government

Continued on page 20



CCBPP Photo

Dassine Lamb visits Roosevelt Erby at the Commemoration Committee's literature table. Both Dassine and Roosevelt are the children of former Black Panther members.

Huey's Corner

Continued from page 14

prosecution and further investigation is not warranted.[17]

"Extortion" was not, of course, the only crime federal law enforcement agencies tried to pin on the BPP. In his book, *Agency of Fear*, Epstein described how high-level intelligence officers in the Nixon administration used a narcotics "cover' to expand domestic counterintelligence operations:

Under the aegis of a "war on heroin," a series of new offices were set up, by executive order, such as the Office of National Narcotics Intelligence, which, it was hoped, would provide the president with investigative agencies having the potential to assume the functions of "the Plumbers" on a far grander scale. According to the White House scenario, these new investigative functions would be legitimized by the need to eradicate the evil of drug addiction. [18]

The Nixon Administration's exploitation of the narcotics menace to justify expansion of federal investigative agencies achieved extraordinary success:

Between 1968 and 1974, the federal budget for enforcing narcotics laws rose from $3 million to more than $224 million — a seventyfold increase. And this in turn gave the president an opportunity to create a series of highly unorthodox federal agencies. [19]

The utility of a "narcotics" cover appears in numerous internal law enforcement documents concerning the BPP. Various agencies claim within their reports, in fact, to be investigating narcotics use by Panther leaders, especially Huey Newton. When, for example, Newton and some close friends took a one-week Caribbean cruises for a vacation, the FBI sent at least one clandestine agent who submitted the following report:

[An unidentified informant] stated that his company has recently experienced a heavy increase in bookings aboard the "Starward" [the cruise ship taken] by Blacks, and he suspicions [sic] that this increase is due in part to the availability of narcotics at Porte Prince [sic] and Port Antonio. He stated that his suspicions have been buttressed by the recent confiscation of several pieces of luggage filled with narcotics from a "Starward" passenger.

Inasmuch as reliable sources have identified Newton as a user of cocaine and he is possibly the user of other narcotics, will alert customs personnel to be on the lookout for narcotics in the possession of Newton and any of his party upon their return to Miami.[20]

Not content merely to alert Customs, the FBI noted, "The information has been disseminated to State Department and CIA. Copies of attached being furnished to the Department (internal security and General Crimes Section) and Secret Service."[21]

Indeed, in April 1973, the FBI requested, "all San Francisco agents be aware of either the purchase or use of cocaine by Huey Newton. Any information obtained in this regard should be immediately furnished to both the OPD [Oakland Police Department] and the appropriate Federal narcotics agency."[22] Six months later the Bureau seemed less interested in Newton's possible use of cocaine than they were about narcotics dealers he might have been "hitting-up" for contributions to community survival programs.

Source reports from contacts with various and unidentified Negro dope dealers that the big time dope dealers in the Berkeley and Oakland area are out to get Huey Newton. Source reports that Huey is apparently ripping off certain dealers, pimps and whores for large amounts of money and the talk is that "they" are going to get Huey. Source was instructed to determine some hard facts concerning these rumors and to report same immediately.[23]

1. "Dean Memorandum," Exhibit D to the original complaint filed in Black Panther Party v. Donald C. Alexander, Commissioner of the Internal Revenue Service, No. C-74-1247 (N.D. Cal. 1974)

2. "White House 'Enemies' List, "Exhibit F, Black Panther Party v. Alexander.

3. Indeed, at least one commentator has noted that the popularity of organizations like the Panthers, and probably also the American Independent Party, was "a result of the vacuum of leadership among white liberals; it was a reflection of confusion, of aimlessness, of guilt without political purpose." Arthur Pearl. Landslide: The How and Why of Nixon's Victory (Secaucus, New Jersey: Citadel Press, 1973, P. 69.

4. "National Security, Civil Liberties, and the Collection of Intelligence: A Report on the Huston Plan," reported in U.S. Congress, Senate, Book III, Final Report of the Select Committee To Study Government Operations With Respect to Intelligence Activities, 94th Cong.,, 2d sess., 1976, pp. 923-986. (Hereinafter this report will simply be referred to as "Book III: Final Report.")

5. Book III: Final Report, pp. 936-960.

6. Book III: Final Report, p. 938.

7. Book III: Final Report, pp. 947-960.

8. Stanford J. Ungar, FBI: An Uncensored Look Behind the Walls (Boston: Little Brown, 1976), p. 123.

9. Ungar, FBI, p. 124.

10. Executive Order 9835, 12 Fed. Reg. 1935 (21 March 1947).

11. Ungar, FBI, p. 125.

12. Book III: Final Report, p. 5.

13. Ungar, FBI, p. 119.

14. New York Times, 8 September 1968. cited in Book III

Final Report, p. 188, and Ungar, FBI, p. 121.

15. Barenblatt v. United States, 360 U.S. 109,150 (1959) (Black. J., dissenting.

16. FBI Airtel from SAC, San Francisco to Director FBI, February 4, 1974 (emphasis added).

17. Letter from Henry E. Peterson to Acting Director FBI, April 3, 1973.

18. Edward J. Epstein, Agency of fear: Opiates and Political Power in America (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1977), p.8.

19. Ibid.

20. Teletype from FBI, San Francisco to Director, February 16, 1974.

21. FBI "Informative Note," February 16, 1974 prepared for "J.L.B."

22. FBI Memorandum from Supervisor Gary L. Penrith to SAC, San Francisco, April 13, 1973.

23. FBI Memorandum from Special Agent Stephen Lee Kies to SAC, San Francisco, October 11, 1973.

Lucia Chiavola Birnbaum, Ph.D.
Professor — Women's Spirituality
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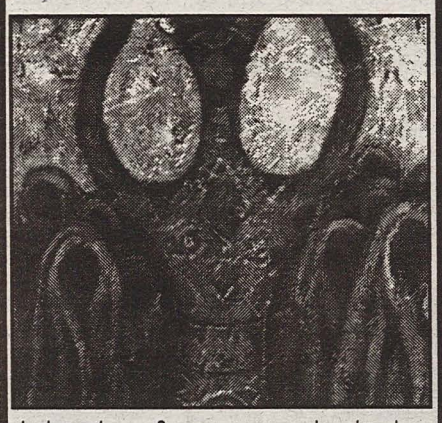

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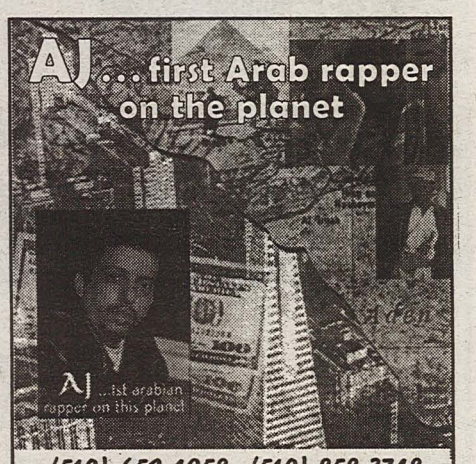

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"Thanks to my mother and father, who caught me by surprise and encouraged me to continue making music." - AJ

In Memoriam: Winfield Baggett

Continued from page 4

Photo by Charles Slay

In 1993 Winfield Baggett spoke about the need to organize in the face of U.S. government attacks on the working poor in the form of workfare, prison labor, and enterprise zones at Labor College in Oakland, California.

Upon graduation from high school, Mr. Baggett entered Arkansas State University. Despite hard work requiring early morning hours milking cows to pay for his tuition, on top of his school work, he wasn't able to earn enough income to meet expenses; consequently, Mr. Baggett was forced to leave school. Mr. Baggett then went to Flint, Michigan where he worked as a grinder at a GM plant, and shortly thereafter, in 1938, married Willie Belle Bethany, and they had two daughters and two sons.

Came to Oakland in 1940

In 1940, Winfield and his young bride came to California and moved to West Oakland. Here he used the skills he had learned on his father's farm, working first as a welder in the shipyards, and then as a carpenter at the Moore Shipyard and Naval Supply Base in Oakland.

After the war he lost his government job in the shipyard to the flood of unemployed soldiers returning home from World War II. He went to work as a carpenter for wages ranging from 75 cents to $1.50 a day. Mr. Baggett joined the local 36 Carpenter Union and became one of the first Blacks to join. He worked to get more Blacks to join the union and attended a couple of state union conventions on behalf of the Carpenter's Union.

Mr. Baggett would explain many of the lessons he first learned as a young boy. He saw that it was "going to take organization to break down what we were up against, discrimination and what have you." He found that "the only way you're going to make it is through organization and through people, working with other people."

When he worked in the shipyards he faced much discrimination in the union. Blacks were referred to as "Joe McGees" (someone who did not know the trade). They paid their dues but didn't get jobs. He would go to the hiring hall and hear the dispatcher call for a carpenter and one would be dispatched. Mr. Baggett spoke of times when there would be "no jobs available" if there were no whites in the hiring hall, because the dispatcher would "save" those jobs. At around 10 a.m., the dispatcher would tell the (all black) workers that there were no jobs and they should come back the next day, although he actually had a "pocketful of jobs." Mr. Baggett would watch this going on and he would go to the union meeting and speak about what he called this "taxation without representation."

Telling this story in later years, Mr. Baggett spoke of getting up and denouncing the practice at union meetings, but not knowing that he had people on his side. He later learned he did — and that those were the communists in the union.

As a result of his outspokenness, Mr. Baggett was contacted by the Communist Party USA and joined. He was known for being "radical," part of the "outlaws" section of the Union. One day during the time he was with the Communist Party, he had his house ransacked by the FBI when his family was not at home. The FBI took all of his political books and threw them in a pile in the middle of his house.

Among other things, as a photographer, Mr. Baggett had his photographs published in (former California Governor) William Knowland's Oakland Tribune and in several African-American owned newspaper. He once had a famous photograph published in the People's World, the Communist Party newspaper on the west coast. At the time, FBI agents are estimated to have made up from 17-50% of the Party's membership. The photo, taken at a local party meeting, showed a bunch of FBI agents. They were easily identified because of the outlines of the guns under their jackets that appeared in the photograph.

Always an Internationalist

In the 1950's, Mr. Baggett was elected as a delegate to the Carpenter's Union District Council in Alameda County and to the State District Council by both blacks and whites due to his outspoken positions. He served as a delegate for his union in a state convention and was later elected as delegate to the Central Labor Council and carried on his duties as a leader in the labor union movement throughout the next two decades, always pointing to the internationalism of the struggle.

The Communist Party helped him formally and legally resign from the Party so he could carry on his duties as a labor leader while steering clear of the anti-labor provisions of the 1947 Taft-Hartley Amendment to the National Labor Relations Act that prohibited Communists from serving in trade union leadership positions.

Mr. Baggett started working as a contractor as his main occupation and in this management capacity he lost his carpenter's union card in the early 1970's. In later years he also worked as a locksmith and door hanger. He was co-owner of Franklin Lock & Key on Telegraph Avenue in Oakland, which was purchased by Ron Reed and continues to this day as Reed Locksmith.

Mr. Baggett was also involved in the Unity Church, and later joined Church of Christ Holiness in Berkeley and developed a close relationship to Rev. Thompson and Berkeley Zion Missionary Baptist Church. In the 1960's he had a religious radio program on KRE in the Bay Area known as the Brother Baggett Program, where he organized a black spiritual singing group. One of his favorite Biblical references was "They have eyes but see not, they have ears yet they hear not." He used this to describe people who refused to recognize the crying injustices in society that motivated him as a spiritual and political being to take up the mantle of struggle and never let it drop.

Mr. Baggett was in a group called Businessmen for Christ, which showed movies of the United States dropping the bomb on Japan and its devastating result. He often used the example of a scene in the movie that showed the first splitting of the atom as example of how very small things can cause very large changes.

His West Oakland Neighborhood

In 1983, Mr. Baggett met Western Service Workers Association (WSWA) and California Homemakers Association (CHA) when organizers canvassing his West Oakland neighborhood met him sitting in his truck in front of his home on 12th Street. This was at a time when Alameda County had cut off all free public health immunizations; they were charging $7 per shot, an amount that caused hardship for low-income families. The County's action was followed by the Oakland City School District's preventing any children without a completed set of shots from attending school, and WSWA and CHA mobilized the community and, as a result, Alameda County ended up providing the immunization shots to the children.

A Determined Organizer

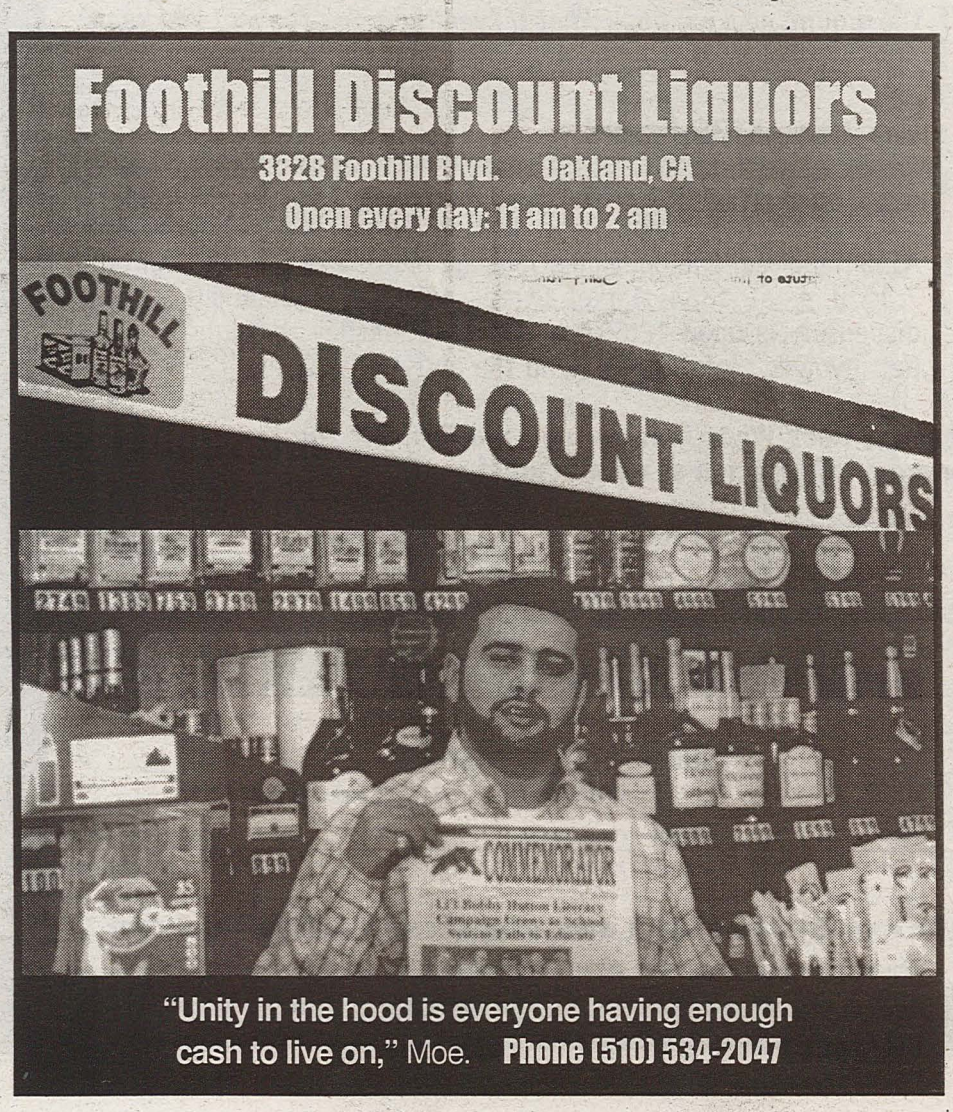
Shortly thereafter, he took on the post as President of the Bay Area Workers Benefit Council, a council of delegates representing their work force and/or neighborhood that supervises self-help programs of low-income workers and their families. He passed on his education through his stories to each person and every group with which he spoke.

Through his seventies and eighties he continued to carry out the duties of a full-time professional organizer, whether that consisted of being in charge of an office, phoning for people to attend the weekly Workers Benefit Council meeting, or calling churches to involve them in supporting programs of WSWA. He was proud of the fact that he would stay out talking with the community until he had reached a sufficient number of interested people to call it a success. He set a goal and reached it with his strength and determination.

Winfield Baggett is survived by two sisters, Gladys Cravens of Chicago and Trudy Smith of Oakland. He is survived by three of his four children, Mary Ellen Burroughs of Vallejo, Shirley Anderson of Oakland and Fred Baggett of Vallejo. He outlived a second son, Earl, who was killed by the Los Angeles Police Department in a traffic incident Mr. Baggett referred to as murder. Also, Mr. Baggett is survived by seven grandchildren, six great-grandchildren and one great-great grandchild.

Finally, Mr. Baggett is survived and will be sorely missed by tens of thousands of working people and their families in the Bay Area, throughout California and across the United States. His leadership will continue to inspire both those who knew him and those who had only heard of his lifelong commitment on behalf of his class to "Carry it on."

All Power To The People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AIDS in Africa: New Plague or Old Illnesses of Poverty?

Racist HIV Myth Hides Ruthless U.S. Exploitation.

Unlike in the United States, AIDS in Africa is most frequently diagnosed based on four very imprecise clinical symptoms—diarrhea, fever, persistent cough, and weight loss greater than 10% over two months. *HIV antibody tests are not required to diagnose a case of African AIDS.* These four clinical symptoms are identical to the problems created by conditions of poverty that have troubled Africa and other developing areas of the world for centuries. In fact, symptoms of the so-called African AIDS epidemic are indistinguishable from the effects of malnutrition, unsanitary drinking and bathing water, and common curable conditions like malaria, cholera, tuberculosis, and parasitic infections.

Rather than solve the problems of African poverty caused by centuries of ruthless Western exploitation, the U.S. government insists on broadcasting the doomsday notion that Africa is suddenly gripped by a deadly, spreading sexual plague. According to these American health authorities, salvation from sickness can only be found in profitable pills manufactured by the white West and exported to black Africa.

America's Racist HIV Myth

The idea that AIDS originated in Africa is a popular myth without any scientific or epidemiological evidence. News reports that blame AIDS on African green monkeys are based upon elaborate speculation about species-jumping viruses rather than reliable proof. Tall tales about the spread of AIDS are promoted through the most vulgar and racist sexual stereotypes about promiscuous African people.

Still, the numbers speak for themselves. According to the 1999 *WHO Global HIV/AIDS Report,* the total number of AIDS cases in Africa virtually equals the total number of cases in America even though Africa, with its 650 million citizens, has more than two times the population of the United States. Africa is often cited as a worst case example of what could happen in America despite figures demonstrating that 99.5% of Africans do not have AIDS, and among Africans who test HIV positive, 97% do not have AIDS.

The Truth About African AIDS:

- **HIV antibody tests are not required for an AIDS diagnosis in Africa.**
- **African AIDS is diagnosed by four very imprecise clinical symptoms:**
  - **— Diarrhea**
  - **— Fever**
  - **— Persistent cough**
  - **— Weight loss greater than 10% over two months**
- **Tuberculosis, malaria, and measles far outnumber cases of AIDS in Africa.**
- **AIDS is not the leading cause of illness or death in any African nation.**

While Africa is the frequent target of damaging AIDS media reports, the total number of cases on the continent is relatively small. For example, from 1981 through 1999 cumulative AIDS cases for South Africa, the area claimed hardest hit by HIV, were just 12,825.

Exporting Extermination: AIDS Pills Kill!

It is undeniable that experimental AIDS treatments like protease inhibitors and AZT are all highly toxic, dangerous products. Strokes, muscle wasting, anemia, physical deformities, dementia, birth defects, organ failure, and death are some of the "side effects" of these poisons. Thousands of gay men in the 1980s and 1990s died from AZT poisoning. Now the U.S. State Department has elevated AIDS to the level of a threat to national security in order to gain public support for exporting AZT to pregnant African women. Outspoken leaders like South African President Thabo Mbeki—hard pressed to explain why developing nations stricken with famine and civil chaos should spend what little money they have on toxic anti-HIV drugs while millions starve—are relentlessly attacked as unfit and crazy by racist Western media outlets.

We invite you to investigate the growing international controversy over the cause and treatment of AIDS for yourself. Clip and mail the coupon below for a free copy of the groundbreaking book *What If Everything You Thought You Knew About AIDS Was Wrong?* by AIDS survivor Christine Maggiore.

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Dickson Wins Fannie Lou Hamer Award

Continued from page 1

Courtesy of UCB African-American Studies

Co-honoree Margaret Norris, Academy Director at San Francisco Omega Boys Club.

weeks after the event. She is credited with giving many insightful lectures, teaching critical thinking classes and authoring numerous books of poetry in *The Progressive* and other publications.) Dr. Joseph Marshall of the Omega Boys Club gave the keynote speech, quoting from *Before the Mayflower* (by author and scholar Jerome Bennett), on how Black Americans have a tradition and a history of valuing education and overcoming adversity.

The following is from Melvin Dickson's speech:

I would like to thank the graduating students from the African-American Studies program, and I would like to thank the entire African-American Studies Department here at the University of California, Berkeley, for sponsoring such a program.

I am being honored here as the Chairperson of the Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party and editor of The Commemorator *newspaper. I would like to point out that none of us might be here today, if not for the Black Panther Party that led the first African-American Studies program on college campuses throughout this country.*

I accept this honor in the spirit of all the late comrades, Dr. Huey P. Newton, Li'l Bobby Hutton, George Jackson, Fred Hampton and the many other fallen comrades I did not mention. And I accept this honor in the name of all the political prisoners who

Courtesy of Charles Patterson

Fannie Lou Hamer (shown here in 1964), founder of Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, fought injustice until her death in 1974.

are still incarcerated: Mumia Abu-Jamal, Ruchell Magee, Hugo Pinell and many others. Let my people go!

Also, I would like to thank all the organizers, students and volunteers who helped make this occasion possible, who continue to organize for the goals and principles of the Black Panther Party's Ten-Point Program. Even though the Black Panther Party officially disbanded in 1982, the spirit and legacy lives on in all of you.

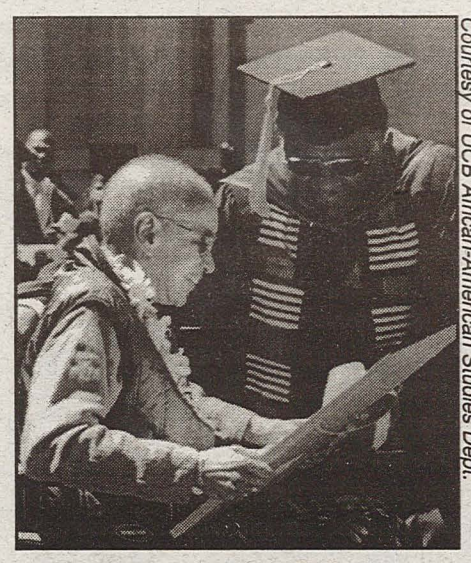
The Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party promotes and advances that spirit and legacy as well as the BPP platform that is urgently needed today, in communities across the country and the globe. We need liberation ***everywhere****, not just the African-American communities, but in all poor communities wherever oppression and economic exploitation exist, where more taxmonies are spent on prisons and wars of aggression rather than on housing, education and health care.*

So our primary purpose is building organization to fight those oppressive conditions. Our Education Campaign is the cornerstone of our struggle. That includes The Commemorator *newspaper and the Li'l Bobby Hutton Literacy Campaign. We have promoted political education as a framework for change, beginning in the summer of 1990 with a Unity Rally in Oakland's deFremery Park, and we have been growing ever since.*

The award you are giving me is named for Fannie Lou Hamer, who came from a humble background – a sharecropper family from Mississippi. She was denied educational opportunity and the right to vote, as blacks were disenfranchised in that part of the south. But what made Mrs. Hamer different from most people is that she dedicated her life to fighting against racial oppression and poverty and she co-founded the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party because she understood that it would take organization to make progressive change.

She went on to organize against the oppressive conditions the best way that she knew how – by helping to organize a voter registration drive. She ***lived*** *the choice that is articulated on Paul Robeson's tombstone in a quote from him that, although he spoke of artists specifically, the idea speaks to all of us: "The artist must elect to fight for freedom or slavery. I have* ***made*** *my choice. I had no alternative."*

The illustrious Paul Robeson — Rhodes scholar, football star, attorney, opera singer, Shakespearean actor and star of Broadway and Hollywood — was blacklisted from performing in this, his own country, because he chose to live a life of principle. He refused to censor himself from telling the truth and dummy up about the



Courtesy of UCB African-American Studies Dept.

Nationally acclaimed poet and writer, June Jordan, was presented with a Citation Award by Vice Chancellor, Dr. Horace Mitchell.

racism and Jim Crow practices in this country or about the colonial and imperial actions of the US government around the world.

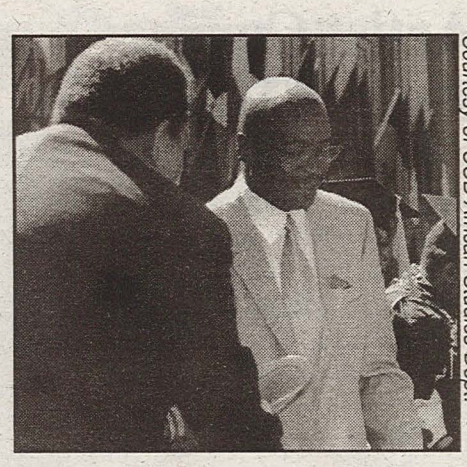
Paul Robeson and others, such as Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Jr., Dr. Huey P. Newton and Li'l Bobby Hutton came to understand what it means to serve our people. They gave their lives so that you might sit here today.

We now have more than 8,000 black elected officials in the United States. Yet for black people in America, poverty, disease, imprisonment, police brutality and illiteracy run rampant.

Around the world, each and every day 30,000 people of color DIE from illness and disease that are entirely within our power to prevent and cure. Scientists have estimated that the cost of stopping this holocaust of 10,000,000 deaths a year of our people, mostly under the age of 5, is equivalent to what US cigarette companies spend on advertising.

The genocidal conditions in Africa, Iraq, Afghanistan, Palestine, Mexico and elsewhere are all caused by the same global forces that are devastating the poor black communities in Oakland, Detroit, D.C., South Central LA, as well as the poorest workers across the nation and these same conditions have now begun to cause devastation in the lives of white, middle-class workers.

When the oil industry and other international corporations say jump, politicians throughout the world jump so high that, before you know it, our country's building more prisons each



Courtesy of UCB African-American Studies Dept.

Dickson congratulates Dr. Joseph Marshall of the Omega Boys Club who gave the keynote speech.

year than colleges, and making more bombs to drop on innocent women and children than it is spending on printed textbooks for students. It does not take a rocket scientist to understand that when you have a decrease in wages and jobs, you have a rise in illiteracy, a rise in police brutality, and a rise in scapegoats and victims.

You can now see what prompted Fannie Lou Hamer to say, "I'm sick and tired of being sick and tired." She reached a point where she decided to stand up and fight on behalf of her oppressed brothers and sisters. Under pressure from an organized civil rights movement, the US Supreme Court had ruled in 1954 — in Brown v. Board of Education *— to end the segregation system in education. When Mrs. Hamer realized that people were organizing a movement, she joined.* ***She did not hesitate****.*

Neither did Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, Malcolm X, Dr. Huey P. Newton and Li'l Bobby Hutton. They would accept neither the life of a slave ***nor*** *the life of an overseer for the* slave master. *They all* ***made*** *their choice. I challenge* ***everyone*** *here today to make that choice, especially you graduating students.*

The Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party is entirely volunteer-run. We need your participation and we need your support. We are growing across the country but we need more volunteer organizers. We offer training programs in organizing for anyone interested. For those of you who want to find out more about our training programs, our Literacy campaign or our Publications Program, please stop at our table and talk to one of our volunteers, who have information for you, and where you can sign-up to volunteer or support our efforts in some other way.

This award is a great honor. It would be an even greater honor to work alongside each of you energetic and talented young people in this great effort to advance all of us together. That's what I really look forward to.

Again — thank you for the honor.

All Power to the People.

The formal commencement ceremony was followed by informal circulation among the attendees. CCBPP volunteers staffed an information table at the event, signing up dozens of interested persons seeking more information about CCBPP and many requesting subscriptions to *The Commemorator*.

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Artist Corner: Politics/Music/Art

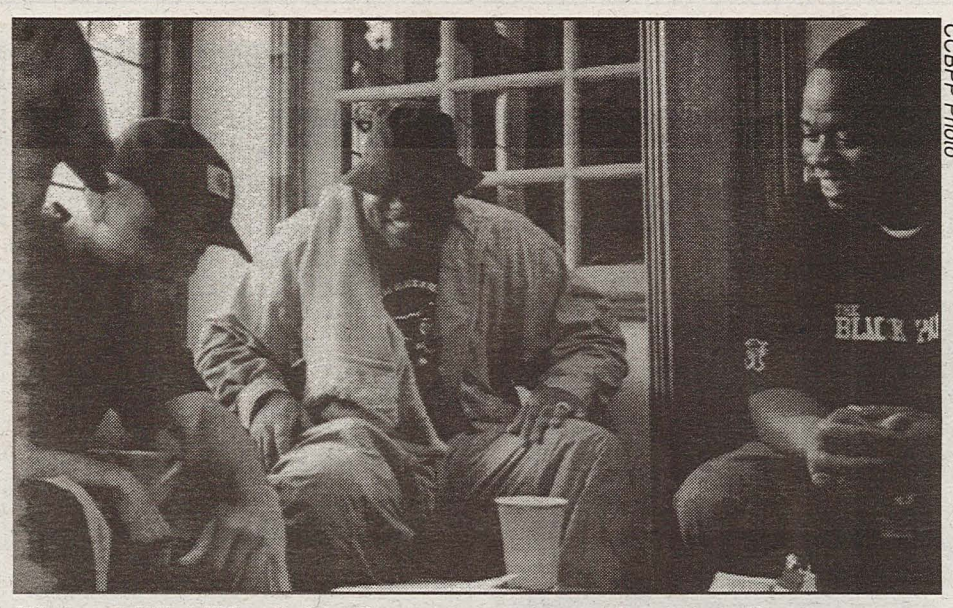
Continued from page 16

legal aid program in North Oakland. Huey was studying law at some law school here in San Francisco, and all my money went to the Party. They had some law books in their office, and we would study these books. We wrote the Ten Point Program right there in that poverty program office, and began organizing."

The sentiment that organizing begins with good ideas and a dedicated people was something tangible that was underscored to every participant that night. The lessons we were given were not like a history class in high school or college where you study the materials and try to memorize facts and figures just long enough to pass the test and then you discard all of it.

The lessons learned were too significant to file away; that we shared a conviction that change needs to happen now. The question for each of us is, "What are we willing to commit to make that happen?" Many of our heroes and role models died for the revolution. How many of us are willing to live for it?

All Power to the People!



CCBPP Photo

Michael Wickliffe (left), Commemorator volunteer, discusses rap-music philosophy with F.U.G.I.T.I.V.E.S's Jamiel and J.U.G.

Mumia on FBI

Continued from page 3

and Klansmen while demonstrating for civil rights throughout the south, constantly requested FBI protection from the violence. Instead, they would turn up every time he was beaten, stand by, and take notes, never stopping any of the violence, but instead were involved in gathering dirty and derogatory personal information on civil rights workers. He finally concluded that the FBI was a part of the "governmental structure," and were, in effect, "the enemy of Black people" [from O'Reilly, K. "Racial Matters": The FBI's Secret File on Black America, 1960-1972 (New York: Free Press, 1989), pp. 108-109]. Forman noted:

"We did not say it that way in 1963, but we did know that the FBI was a farce. It wasn't going to arrest any local racists who violated any and all laws on the statute books. Instead, they would play a game of taking notes and pictures. The files in Washington must have been growing thick even then with documents from the civil rights movements and with photographs of us all—doing everything but screwing, and maybe even that." [P.109]

The former FBI chief, J. Edgar Hoover, found it intolerable that "Negroes" would "want to be addressed as 'Mr.'." (p.257). Scholar Kenneth O'Reilly writes that the job of the FBI was, in large part, to stifle black unity:

"Division Five also worked to "prevent the rise of a 'Messiah'"—someone "who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement." Malcolm X had been the most likely candidate, but

Photo by Hans Bennett

Pam Africa speaks on behalf of Mumia at demonstration in Philadelphia.

his assassination removed that threat. Malcolm was simply "the martyr of the movement today." [Elijah] Muhammad was hardly a more viable threat "because of his age." In the final analysis, Division Five said, [Stokeley] Carmichael and [Martin Luther] King were the only serious candidates. They both dreamed of becoming a messiah and had "the necessary charisma." Not even [William C., head of Domestic Intelligence] Sullivan considered King to be a militant, but that was beside the point. "King could be a very real contender for this position should he abandon his supposed 'obedience' to 'white, liberal doctrines' (nonviolence) and embrace black nationalism." [p. 282]

The role of history has taught us that the state has its interests and the people have another; and that they do not coincide.

The role of history has taught us that the state has its interests and the people have another; and that they do not coincide.

Now, with much of the nationalist movement in pieces, with some aligned to the Democratic party, some involved with community organizing, and others involved in other areas of social and cultural life, it is somewhat surreal to read of community calls for the FBI every time that a young person is murdered by cops

Since when are they the solution? The propaganda shown by the movie "Mississippi Burning" doesn't come close to showing the true role of the FBI. It's time folks acted as if they knew that.

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Letter to Editor

Continued from page 7

tional bill of rights prohibiting U.S. aggression and interference in the internal affairs of other nations [too bad that wasn't the law pre-9/11]…. The present racist legal system would be replaced by a system of people's courts where a jury of one's peers would try one. Community rehabilitation programs would replace jails…. adequate housing, health care, and day care would be considered Constitutional Rights, not privileges…." The Revolutionary People Constitutional Convention provided "a glimpse of the break from 'normal' life," wrote writer George Katsiaficas, "solidarity, liberation, and celebration of difference."

What if we developed our own political platform?

Instead of adhering to the programs, platforms, and policies of our adversaries, i.e., the Republicrats, why don't we develop our own? No one knows the problems of daily living better than those for whom the struggle is hardest. We must stop allowing rich and superrich politicians who are completely ignorant of our problems to provide us with programs that don't work and often are designed to fail. Their interests are incompatible with our interests, e.g., their primary interest is winning an election rather than serving the best interests of most of the people. Bear in mind we're living in a society wherein 1% of the population owns wealth equal to that of the 95% at the bottom of this capitalist pyramid.

It seems to me that to meet today's requirements of a decent life, opne must have the following: heathy food; affordable housing; free health care; guaranteed income that insures a living wage, universal education to the highest levels; affordable child care; equal justice; environmental justice and protection of the planet and all its species; mental, emotional and pyschological rahabilitation; athletic and cultural development through provision of programs in various arts and sports and people's militias and protect and serve the masses."

What if we boycotted the 2004 presidential elections?

We saw what happened in 2000 when Bush stole the presidential election in what was tantamount to a bloodless coup d'etat. This fraudulent election and court-appointed president should have made clear once and for all that this electoral system does not, and never was intended to, provide for one person, one vote, i.e., a true democratic process.

Our people fought and died for the right to vote. But just as the corrupt power brokers have denied or violated our civil and human rights over and over again, they have completely corrupted and rendered invalid the people's vote through their campaign (corporate) finances — mega-bucks — and various means of disenfranchisement, e.g., countless new minor offenses are now felonies that disenfranchise citizens for life, unless a president pardons. Billions of dollars are wasted on campaign nonsense that could be used to feed the hungry, house the homeless, provide health care, child care, etc.

The American people have been tacitly boycotting elections for decades. However, our refusal to participate in sham elections that always promote the lesser of two evils has been construed as apathy by the media and the world. We must change that perception by actively boycotting the presidential elections to say to the nation and the world that a majority of Americans don't vote because they are fed up with the status quo, including the total lack of choices and the democratic process. We can tell the international community that we don't support these fascist politicians and their foreign policies of neo-colonial terror.

We should take to the streets en masse next Election Day after seizing these two years to organize our own people's platform and constitutional convention.

Kiilu Nyasha
March 11, 2002
San Francisco, California

Condemnation of Little B.

Continued from page 9

in five or 13.5 million children are living in poverty in America – 5.8 million of them in extreme poverty." This would suggest that while the United States clings to an image of protecting the world from terror, that within the communities throughout this country, one in five children are terrorized daily by inadequate shelter, hunger, lack of healthcare, and poor education. Under these conditions, Edelman concludes, "We leave him to the violence of the streets and at risk of illness. He lives in fear and we expect him to abide by the rules. But there is one thing that we promise to do for him. If he gets into trouble we guarantee him a prison cell."(P.85).

In the era of "New Age Racism," according to Elaine Brown's book, the victims of poverty are the reason for the destruction of the black family. In Atlanta the media and the black petty bourgeoisie are saying that the "Little Bs" are the problem, not to mention the poverty that produce them. "They are forgetting about slavery and its legacy," says Brown, speaking at the Oakland African American Museum, February 2002. Brown shows that within the language of American culture, "black" and "criminal" are synonymous, even though "Whites account for almost 70 % of the total arrests." She writes, "Ingrained racism has obscured the reality about black boys and girls in America... the suicide rate for young black males has tripled over the last fifteen years, reflecting not rising criminality but increased depression among them. This depression has real roots, in overwhelming black child poverty, infant mortality, ghettoization." (P.120)

Brown does a thorough examination of the conditions of poverty-stricken youth of color in America and how through these conditions the "Little Bs" face imprisonment and are forgotten. Brown fails to explicitly discuss how capitalism has played a central role in creating poverty in the United States and throughout the communities of the world. The case of Little B. is not only a national problem but also holds global implications as a result of exploitation of the world's people and their labor, as well as the siege of the world's natural resources by the ruling class. By the end of this book, Brown leaves the reader with more questions than answers. Although she speaks of reparations for slavery, Brown does not offer a concrete plan to end the conditions of the "Little B's" of the world. Brown tells the reader of the problems we know that exist in communities throughout the world, but falls short in showing the ways we can accomplish and sustain the full liberation of these communities.

All Power To The People

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Which Side Are You On?

Continued from page 15

CCBPP is building positive programs in poor and working class communities. The Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party's *Commemorator* newspaper and the Li'l Bobby Hutton Literacy campaign represent a means and a way toward solutions with very broad political ramifications.

The BPP Ten-Point Program calls for elimination of poverty where everyone has access to comprehensive health care as a right, to earn a living wage, to have access to affordable housing, and an end to police brutality. The Li'l Bobby Hutton Literacy campaign demonstrates that although the Black Panther Party officially ended some 20 years ago, the goal and legacy lives on in CCBPP.

Our newspaper and our literacy campaign are part of building a broad-based fight for revolutionary intercommunalism as called for by Dr. Huey P. Newton. We have by no means done enough, but in the process of building these campaigns we are building and educating people to leadership skills that will enable them to help us carry our struggle to victory.

The Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party offers education and training to organizers who wish to be part of building independent organizations that can meet the challenges and needs of today and tomorrow. We seek those who wish to succeed in bringing people together to end exploitation and oppression as a systemic way of life.

Some of those new organizers are needed to build our literacy campaign and others our publications program. We are building these components of a survival program upon the foundation laid by the legacy of the BPP.

We ask you to JOIN US to help build survival programs as part of our revolutionary program. We are now emphasizing point number *five* of the Ten-Point Program and Platform that calls for critical education that teaches through studying the world around us and how to change it. We need you to contribute the skills you own, learn the skills that we can teach you, and help recruit more people who can bring their additional skills and resources to the struggle. We have a method by which we can do all of that. But we need more people to make it work.

There are only two sides. If you are not part of the solution you are part of the problem. Join us in building the solutions. Call NOW the Commemoration Committee for the BPP at 510-652-7170.

All Power To The People

In Love & Memory of My Two Sons

Christopher Matthew James
03/11/71 - 04/15/96

Daniel Knowwell III
10/04/66 - 05/05/02

"All these senseless murders and none are getting solved by the local government and as a result, the community suffers, and the media blame us for black on black crime. No one even mentions conditions of poverty." Ora Knowwell, Parent.

In memory of Toure Shabazz Muhammad, 1967-1998.

Though you are no longer here in the physical body your light will not be extinguished because you are the divine essence of love eternal -- love, your family.
-Freedom Fighter--Nation Builder
Teacher of Black Children — Member of the Nation of Islam-

In memory of Toure Shabazz Muhammad, 1967-1998.

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CCBPP STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party (CCBPP) is committed to the goals of the Black Panther Party (BPP) as outlined in its Ten-Point Program which was written in 1966 by Party founders, Dr. Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale.

The Ten-Point Program outlines goals and objectives toward changing conditions of economic exploitation and political oppression in all low-income and working class communities in the U.S. and elsewhere, as the basis for unity and solidarity.

Also, the CCBPP is committed to the concept of Revolutionary Intercommunalism, introduced by Dr. Newton in 1970 at Boston College. Our Revolutionary Intercommunalism holds that there are basically two sides. On one side there is reactionary intercommunalism which presently holds the world's low-income and working communities under conditions of economic exploitation and political oppression by controlling the wealth, resources and institutions in order to maximize profits for the few. Huey identified this side as the leading reactionary side (the ruling class) which consists of a minority, fewer than five percent of the world population. Under these conditions, reactionary intercommunalism, by and large, keeps the poor and working communities on a cycle of degradation, under conditions of reaction, desperation and poverty, with no end in sight. Newton understood that in order to change these conditions and advance the economic and cultural interests of these oppressed communities of the world, disciplined organizations must be built from the bottom up, enabling these low-income and working communities to fight exploitation and oppression by any means necessary (this fight needs to start in the advanced industrialized U.S. because our nation leads the world in political reaction and economic exploitation).

CCBPP advances and upholds the goals which the BPP outlined in its Ten-Point Program, and those goals are about ridding black ghettos and low-income and working communities of economic exploitation and political oppression, understanding that we can reach these goals only by seizing the time at the point of practice.

Black Panther Party Ten-Point Program
WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM, WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES. We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions that exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE. We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES. We believe that the racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency that will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS. We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people on our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

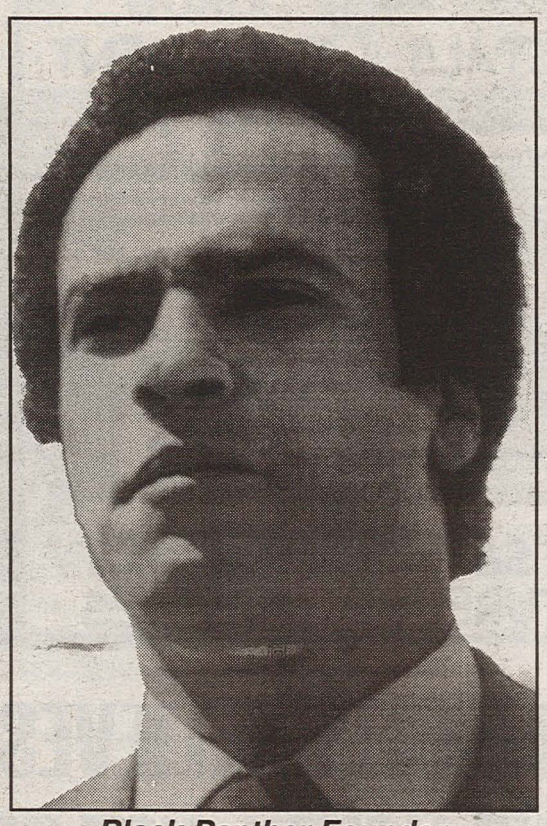
5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY. We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE. We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities that will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but will also develop preventive medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES. We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color, and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION. We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U. S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U. S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U. S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY, AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY. We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U. S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U. S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions that are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.



Black Panther Founder, Dr. Huey P. Newton

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY. When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to affect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism. It is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

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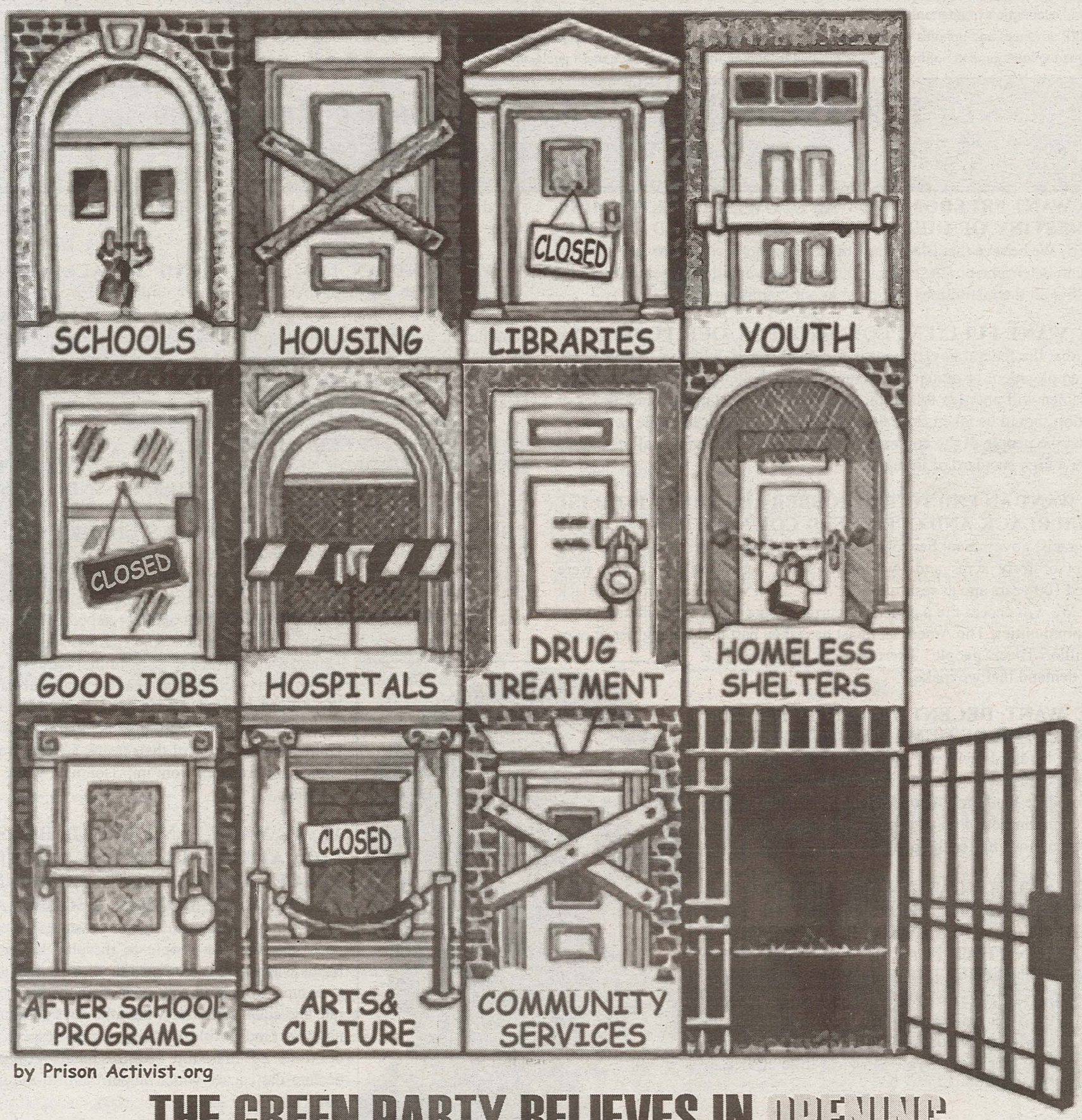

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